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THE LIFE OF  
JOHN MILTON;

Containing, besides  
the history of his works,  
several extraordinary characters  
of men, and books, sects, parties, and opinions:

WITH  
AMYNTOR;

Or a defense of Milton's life:

BY IOHN TOLAND. K

AND UARIOUS NOTES NOW ADDED.

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VICTRIX CAUSA DIIS PLACVIT, SED VICTA CATONI.

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МОТИВНОУ



TO LAND'S LIFE OF  
T O L A N D  
L I F E  
O F  
JOHN MILTON.

---

TO THOMAS RAULINS of *Kilreag* in  
*Herefordshire* Esq;

**I** SEND you at length, my best friend,  
what you have so often and earnestly sol-  
licited me to write, the life of *JOHN*  
*MILTON*, a man eminent at home and  
famous abroad for his universal learning, fa-  
gacity, and solid judgment: but particularly  
noted as well for those excellent volumes he  
wrote on the behalf of civil, religious, and  
domestic liberty; as for his divine and in-  
comparable poems, which, equalling the most  
beautiful order and expression of any antient  
or modern compositions, are infinitely above  
them all for sublimity and invention. Ob-  
serving in this performance the rules of a  
faithful historian, being neither provok'd by  
malice,

malice, nor brib'd by favor, and as well daring to say all that is true, as scorning to write any falshood, I shall not conceal what may be thought against my author's honor, nor add the least word for his reputation: but three things I would have you specially observe. First, I shall not be too minute in relating the ordinary circumstances of his life, and which are common to him with all other men. Writings of this nature should, in my opinion, be design'd to recommend virtue, and to expose vice; or to illustrate history, and to preserve the memory of extraordinary things. That a man, for example, was sick at such a time, or well at another, should never be mention'd; except in the causes or effects, cure or continuance, there happens something remarkable, and for the benefit of mankind to know. I had not therefore related MILTON's headaches in his youth, were it not for the influence which this indisposition had afterwards on his eyes; and that his blindness was rashly imputed by his enemies to the avenging judgment of God. Secondly, In the characters of sects, and parties, books or opinions, I shall produce his own words, as I find 'em in his works; that those who approve his reasons, may owe all the obligation to himself, and that I may escape the blame of such as may dislike what he says. For it is commonly

monly seen, that historians are suspected rather to make their hero what they would have him to be, than such as he really was; and that, as they are prompted by different passions, they put those words in his mouth which they might not speak themselves without incurring som danger, and being accus'd perhaps of flattery or injustice: but I am neither writing a satyr, nor a panegyric upon MILTON, *but publishing the true history of his actions, works, and opinions.* In the third place, I would not have it expected that when I quote a few verses or passages in a different language, I should always pretend to translate 'em, when the whole turn or fancy absolutely depends upon the force of the original words; for the Ignorant could be nothing the wiser, and the best translation would spoil their beauty to the Learned. But this happens so rarely, and almost only during his travels abroad, that it scarce deserv'd an advertisement. The amplest part of my materials I had from his own books, where, constrain'd by the dif-famations of his enemys, he often gives an account of himself. I learnt som particulars from a person that had bin once his amanuensis, which were confirm'd to me by his daughter now dwelling in *London*, and by a letter written to one at my desire from his last wife, who is still alive. I perus'd the papers of one of

B

his



his nephews; learnt what I could in discourse with the other; and lastly consulted such of his acquaintance, as, after the best inquiry, I was able to discover. Thus completely furnish'd, I undertook, most ingenious Sir, the following work, as well to oblige you, *as to inform posterity*: and perform'd what I knew would be acceptable to my friend with as much pleasure as ever you perus'd our author's excellent sheets.

**J**OHAN MILTON, the son likewise of JOHN MILTON, and SARAH CASTON, a woman exemplary for her liberality to the Poor, was born in *London*, in the year of Christ 1608, a gentleman by his education and family, being descended from the MILTONS of *Milton in Oxfordshire*; tho if you consider him in his admirable works or genius, he was truly and eminently noble. But he had too much good sense to value himself upon any other qualities except those of his mind, and which only he could properly call his own: for all external and adventitious titles, as they may at the pleasure of a tyrant, or by an unfortunat attempt against his government, be quite abolish'd; so we often find in hereditary honors, that those distinctions which the Brave and the Wise had justly obtain'd from their country, descend indifferently to cowards, traitors, or fools, and spoil the industry of better souls from endeavoring to equal or exceed the merits of their ancestors. His father was a polite man,

man, a great master of music, and by profession a scrivener, in which calling, thro his diligence and honesty, he got a competent estate in a small time: for he was disinherited by his bigotted parents for imbracing the protestant religion, and abjuring the popish idolatry. He had two other children, ANNA marry'd to EDWARD PHILIPS; and CHRISTOPHER bred to the common law, who, more resembling his grandfather than his father or brother, was of a very superstitious nature, and a man of no parts or ability. After the late civil wars, tho he was intirely addicted to the royal cause, no notice was taken of him, till the late king JAMES, wanting a set of judges that would declare his will to be superior to our legal constitution, created him the same day a serjeant and one of the barons of the Exchequer, knighting him of course, and making him next one of the judges of the Common Pleas: but he quickly had his *quietus est*, as his master not long after was depos'd for his maladministration by the people of *England*, represented in a convention at *Westminster*. To return now to the person who makes the subject of this discourse, JOHN MILTON was destin'd to be a scholar, and partly under domestic teachers (whereof one was THOMAS YOUNG, to whom the first of his familiar letters is inscribed) and partly under Dr. GILL, the chief master of *Paul's* school (to whom likewise the fifth of the same letters is written) he made an incredible progress in the knowlege of words and things, his diligence and inclination outstripping the care of his instructors. After the twelfth year of his age, such was his insatiable

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thirst for learning, he seldom went to bed before midnight. This was the first undoing of his eyes, to whose natural debility were added frequent headaches, which could not retard or extinguish his laudable passion for letters. Being thus initiated in several tongues, and having not slightly tasted the inexpressible sweets of philosophy, he was sent at fifteen to *Christ's College in Cambridg* \* to pursue more arduous and solid studies. This same year he gave several proofs of his early genius for poetry, wherein he afterwards succeeded so happily, that to all ages he'll continue no less the ornament and glory of *England*, than HOMER is own'd to be that of *Greece*, and VIRGIL of *Italy*. He first translated some Psalms into *English* verse, wherof the 114th begins in this manner.

When the blest seed of TERAH's faithful son,  
After long toil, their liberty had won,  
And past from *Pharian* fields to *Canaan* land,  
Led by the strength of the Almighty's hand;  
Jehovah's wonders were in *Israel* shown,  
His praise and glory was in *Israel* known.

In his seventeenth year he wrote a handsom copy of verses on the death of a sister's child that dy'd of a cough; and the same year a Latin elegy on the death of the bishop of *Winchester*, with another on

\* It was not till his seventeenth year, that he was entered there, as is evident from the register of that college, into which he was admitted pensionarius minor, *February* 12, 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. WILLIAM CHAPPEL, *Esq.* a divine highly distinguished for his politeness, and extensive learning.

Dr. BIRCH's Life of MILTON, printed for A. Millar, 1753, page 3.



that of *Ely*. 'Twas then also that he compos'd his fine poem on the gunpowder treason; concerning all which and the rest of his juvenil pieces, the judicious MORHOF, in his *Polybistor literarius*, says, that MILTON's writings shew him to have bin a man in his very childhood; and that these poems are exceedingly above the ordinary capacity of that age. He continu'd in *Cambridg* seven years, where he liv'd with great reputation, and generally belov'd, till taking the degree of master of arts, and performing his exercises with much applause, he left the university: for he aim'd at none of those professions that require a longer stay in that place. Som of his academic performances are still extant among his occasional poems, and at the end of his familiar letters. The five succeeding years he liv'd with his father in his country retirement at *Horton* near *Colebrook* in *Barkshire*, where at full leisure he perus'd all the *Greec* and *Latin* writers; but was not so much in love with his solitude, as not to make an excursion now and then to *London*, sometimes to buy books, or to meet friends from *Cambridg*; and at other times to learn som new thing in the mathematics or in music, with which he was extraordinarily delighted. It was about this time he wrote from *London* a Latin elegy to his intimat friend CHARLES DIODATI, wherein som verses reflecting on the university, and preferring the pleasures of the town, gave a handle afterwards to certain persons no less ignorant than malicious, to report that either he was expel'd for som misdemeanor from *Cambridg*, or left it in discontent that he obtain'd no preferment: and that at *London* he



spent his time with leud women, or at playhouses. But the falsity of this story we shall in due place demonstrat, and in the mean time insert those lines for the satisfaction of the curious.

*Me tenet urbs reflua quam Thamesis alluit unda,  
 Meque nec invitum patria dulcis habet.  
 Jam nec arundiferum mihi cura revivere Camum,  
 Nec dudum vetiti me laris angit amor.  
 Nuda nec arva placent, umbrasque negantia molles,  
 Quam malè Phæbicolis convenit ille locus!  
 Nec duri libet usque minas perferre magistri,  
 Cæteraque ingenio non subeunda meo.  
 Si sit hoc exilium patrios adisse penates,  
 Et vacuum curis otia grata sequi,  
 Non ego vel profugi nomen, sortemve recuso,  
 Lætus & exilii conditione fruor.  
 O utinam vates nunquam graviora tulisset  
 Ille Tomitano flebilis exul agro;  
 Non tunc Ionio quicquam cecisset Homero,  
 Neve foret victo laus tibi prima, Maro.  
 Tempora nam licet hic placidis dare libera Musis,  
 Et totum rapiunt me mea vita libri.  
 Excipit hinc fessum sinuosi pompa theatri,  
 Et vocat ad plausus garrula scena suos.*

Et paulo post :

*Sed neque sub tecto semper, nec in urbe, latemus,  
 Irrita nec nobis tempora veris eunt.  
 Nos quoque lucus habet vicina consitus ulmo,  
 Atque suburbani nobilis umbra loci.  
 Sæpius hic blandas spirantia sidera flammæ  
 Virgineos videas præterisse choros.*

He

HE wrote another Latin elegy to CHARLES DIODATI; and in his twentieth year he made one on the approach of the spring: but the following year he describes his falling in love with a lady (whom he accidentally met, and never afterwards saw) in such tender expressions, with those lively passions, and images so natural, that you would think Love himself had directed his pen, or inspir'd your own breast when you peruse them. We shall see him now appear in a more serious scene, tho yet a child in comparison of the figure he afterwards made in the world. The death of his mother happening likewise about this time facilitated his design, which was with his father's leave to travel into foren regions, being perswaded that he could not better discern the preeminence or defects of his own country, than by observing the customs and institutions of others; and that the study of never so many books, without the advantages of conversation, serves only to render a man either a stupid fool, or an insufferable pedant. First therefore he proceeds to *France* with one servant, and no tutor: for such as still need a pedagog are not fit to go abroad; and those who are able to make a right use of their travels, ought to be the free masters of their own actions, their good qualifications being sufficient to introduce 'em into all places, and to present 'em to the most deserving persons. He had an elegant letter of direction and advice from the famous Sir HENRY WOTTON, who was a long time ambassador from king JAMES the first to the republic of *Venice*. Being arriv'd at *Paris*, he was most kindly receiv'd by the *English* ambassador, who

recommended him to the famous GROTIUS, then ambassador also from queen CHRISTINA of *Sweden* at the French court: for we may easily imagin that MILTON was not a little desirous to be known to the first person then in the world for reading and latitude of judgment, to speak nothing of his other meritorious characters. From hence he parted for *Italy*, where, after passing thro several noted places, he came at length to *Florence*; a city for the politeness of the language, and the civility of the inhabitants, he always infinitely admir'd. In this place he staid about two months, and was daily assisting at those learned conferences which they hold in their privat academys, according to the laudable custom of *Italy*, both for the improvement of letters, and the begetting or maintaining of friendship. During this time he contracted an intimat acquaintance with several ingenious men, most of which have since made a noise in the world, and deserve a mention in this place: I mean GADDI, DATI, FRESCOBALDI, FRANCINI, BONMATTEI, COLTELLINO, CHIMENTELLI, and several others. With these he kept a constant correspondence, particularly with CAROLO DATI, a nobleman of *Florence*, to whom he wrote the tenth of his familiar epistles, and who gave him the following testimonial of his esteem.

JOANNI MILTONI *Londinensi*,

*Juveni patria, virtutibus eximio,*

*V*IRO qui multa peregrinatione, studio cuncta  
orbis terrarum perspexit, ut novus Ulysses omnia  
ubique ab omnibus apprehenderet: Polyglotto, in cujus  
ore



ore linguae jam deperditæ sic reviviscunt, ut idiomata omnia sint in ejus laudibus infacunda; & jure ea percallet, ut admirationes & plausus populorum ab propria sapientia excitatos intelligat. Illi, cujus animi dotes corporisque sensus ad admirationem commovent, & per ipsam motum cuique auferunt: cujus opera ad plausus hortantur, sed venustate vocem auditoribus adimunt. Cui in memoria totus orbis: in intellectu sapientia: in voluntate ardor gloriæ: in ore eloquentia. Harmonicos cælestium Sphærarum sonitus, Astronomia duce, audienti; characteres mirabilium naturæ, per quos Dei magnitudo describitur, magistra Philosophia legenti; antiquitatum latebras, vetustatis excidia, eruditionis ambages, comite assidua autorum lectione, exquirenti, restauranti, percurrenti. At cur nitor in arduum? Illi in cujus virtutibus evulgandis ora Famæ non sufficiant, nec hominum stupor in laudandis satis est, reverentiæ & amoris ergo hoc ejus meritis debitum admirationis tributum offert Carolus Datus Patricius Florentinus,

Tanto homini servus, tantæ virtutis amator.

*I don't think the Italian flourishes were ever carry'd further than in this elegy, which notwithstanding is sincere, and pen'd by an honest man. FRANCINI is not less liberal of his praises in the long Italian ode he compos'd in his honor, which, because it dos justice to the English nation, and foretold the future greatness of MILTON, I have annex'd to this discourse. That he corresponded afterwards with BONMATTEI, appears from the eighth of his familiar letters, which he wrote to him on his design of publishing an Italian Grammar, and is not more elegant than pertinent.*



tenant. But he attain'd that perfection himself in the *Italian* language, as to make som songs on a real or feign'd mistress, in one of which he gives a handsom account of his writing in this tongue.

*Qual in colle aspro, al imbrunir di sera,  
L'avezza giovinetta pastorella  
Va bagnando l'herbetta strana e bella,  
Che mal si spande a disusata spera  
Fruor di sua natia alma prima vera :  
Così amor meco insu la lingua snella  
Destà il fior nuovo di strania favella :  
Mentre io di te, vezzosamente altera,  
Canto dal mio buon popol non inteso,  
E'l bel Tamigi cangio col bel arno :  
Amor lo volse, ed io a l'altrui peso ;  
Seppi ch'amor cosa mai volse indarno.  
Deh ! foss' il mio cuor lento, e'l duro seno  
A chi pianta dal ciel sì buon terreno.*

From his belov'd *Florence* he took his journey next to *Rome*, where he stay'd two other months to see the miserable remains of that famous city, once the glorious mistress of the world, and deservedly so, as being then not only the fairest thing under heaven; but that, till the ambition of a few persons corrupted her equal government, she extended liberty and learning as far as the glory of her name, or the terror of her arms. Here, no doubt, all the examples he had hitherto read of the virtue, eloquence, wisdom, or valor of her antient citizens, occur'd to his mind; and could not but oppress with grief his generous soul, when with his own eyes he saw *Rome* now the chief seat of the most exquisit tyranny exercis'd by effeminate priests, not  
reigning

reigning in the world thro any conceiv'd opinion of their justice, or dread of their courage (for to these qualities they are known and sworn enemys) but deluding men with unaccountable fables, and disarming 'em by imaginary fears, they fill their heads first with superstition, and then their own pockets with their mony. Here he became acquainted with the celebrated LUCAS HOLSTENIUS the *Vatican* librarian, who us'd him with great humanity, and readily shew'd him all the *Grec* authors, whether publish'd or otherwise, that past his care and emendations : He also presented him to cardinal BARBERINI, who at an entertainment of music, perform'd at his own expence, look'd for him in the croud, and gave him a kind invitation. To thank HOLSTENIUS for all these favors, MILTON wrote afterwards from *Florence* the ninth of his familiar letters. At *Rome* he likewise commenc'd a friendship with the poet GIOVANNI SALSILLI, who in the following tetrastich extols him for writing so correctly in *Grec*, *Latin*, and *Italian*.

*Cede Meles, cedat depressa Mincius urna,  
Sebetus Tassum desinat usque loqui :  
At Thamesis victor cunctis ferat altior undas,  
Nam per te, Milto, par tribus unus erit.*

MILTON in return sent to SALSILLI, shortly after lying sick, those fine scazons which may be read among his juvenil poems. And here too did SELVAGGI adorn him with this distich.

*Græcia Mæonidem, jactet sibi Roma Maronem :  
Anglia Miltonum jactat utrique parem.*

Having

Having departed from *Rome* to *Naples*, he was introduc'd by his fellow traveller to GIOVANNI BATTISTA MANSO, marquiss of *Villa*, a person most nobly descended, of great authority, renown'd for his military atchievements, and a patron of learned men. To him the famous Tasso inscrib'd his poem of friendship, and makes honorable mention of him among the princes of *Campania* in the twentieth book of his *Gierusalemme conquistata*. He went himself to shew him all the remarkable places of that city, visited him often at his lodging, and made this distich in his commendation, which he address'd to himself.

*Ut mens, forma, decor, facies, mos; si pietas sic,  
Non Anglus, verum berclè Angelus ipse fores.*

This exception of his piety relates to his being a protestant; and the marquiss told him he would have don him several other good offices, had he bin more reserv'd in matters of religion. But our author out of gratitude for all these singular favors from one of his high quality, presented him at his departure with an incomparable Latin eclog, intitul'd *Manfus*, which is extant among his occasional pieces: and that I may mention it by the way, I don't question but it was from MANSO's conversation and their discourses about Tasso, that he first form'd his design of writing an epic poem, tho he was not so soon determin'd about the subject.

He was now preparing to pass over into *Sicily* and *Greece*, when he was recal'd by the sad news of



a civil war beginning in *England*; esteeming it an unworthy thing for him securely to be diverting himself abroad, when his countrymen were contending at home for their liberty. Intending therefore to return to *Rome*, he was advis'd by som merchants to the contrary; for they had learnt from their correspondents, that the *English* Jesuits were framing plots against him by reason of the great freedom he us'd in his discourses of religion. Notwithstanding, having resolv'd not to begin any disputes, but, being ask'd, not to dissemble his sentiments whatever might insue, he went the second time to *Rome*, and stay'd there two months longer, neither concealing his name, nor declining openly to defend the truth under the pope's nose, when any thought fit to attack him: yet he return'd safe to his learned and affectionat friends in *Florence*. I forgot all this while to mention that he paid a visit to *GALILEO*, then an old man, and a prisoner to the *Inquisition* for thinking otherwise in astronomy than pleas'd the *Franciscan* and *Dominican* friers. He tarry'd two other months in *Florence*, and having seen *Lucca*, *Bononia*, *Ferrara*, he arriv'd in *Venice*. After spending one month here, and shipping off all the books he collected in his travels, he came thro *Verona*, *Milan*, cross the *Alps*, and along the lake *Lemanno* to *Geneva*, where he contracted an intimat familiarity with *GIOVANNI DIODATI*, a noted professor of divinity, and was known to several others, particularly to the celebrated critic and antiquary *FREDERIC SPANHEMIUS* now alive, to whom he wrote the 17th of his familiar letters, and who, together with

CALAN-



CALANDRINI, and som more of that city, sent him intelligence afterwards concerning his antagonist MORUS, wherof in due order. So leaving this place, and passing back again thro *France*, he did after one year and three months peregrination return safe into *England*, much about the same time that king CHARLES the first made his second unsuccessful expedition against the *Scots*. As soon as the complements of friends or acquaintance were over, he hir'd a handsom lodging in the city, to be a retreat for himself and his books in such uncertain and troublesom times. But he continu'd a long while inconsolable for the loss of his dearest friend and schoolfellow CHARLES DIODATI, mention'd before, who dy'd in his absence. He was from *Lucca* originally, but an Englishman born, a student in physick, and an excellent scholar, as I have good reasons to believe, and appears by two *Greek* letters of his to MILTON, very handsomly written, and which I have now in my hands. Our author in mournful notes bitterly laments the immature fate of this young gentleman, whom he denotes by the appellation of DAMON in an eclog nothing inferior to the *Maronian Daphnis*, and which is to be still seen among his *Latin* miscellanies. By this piece we plainly find that he had already conceiv'd the plan of an epic poem, wherof he then design'd the subject should be the warlike actions of the old *British* heroes, and particularly of king ARTHUR, as he declares himself in these verses.

*Ipse*

*Ipse ego Dardanias Rutupina per æquora puppes  
Dicam, & Pandrasidos regnum vetus Inogeniæ,  
Brennumque Arviragumque Duces, priscumque Belinum,  
Et tandem Armoricos Britonum sub lege colonos ;  
Tum gravidam Arturo fatali fraude Iögnen,  
Mendaces vultus assumtaque Gorlois arma,  
Merlini dolus.*

But this particular subject was reserv'd for the celebrated pen of Sir RICHARD BLACKMORE. Some few lines after he declares his ambition of performing something in his native language that might perpetuate his name in these islands, tho he should be the more obscure and inglorious by it to the rest of the world. His words, because they are wonderfully fine, I shall here insert.

*Mi satis ampla*

*Merces, & mihi grande decus (sim ignotus in ævum  
Tum licet, externo penitusque inglorius orbi)  
Si me flava comas legat Usa, & potor Alauni,  
Vorticibusque frequens Abra, & nemus omne Treantiæ,  
Et Thamesis meus ante omnes, & fusca metallis  
Tamara, & extremis me discant Orcades undis.*

I said above that it was by his conversation with the marquis of Villa, who so nobly honor'd the immortal memory of Tasso, that our MILTON form'd his vast design. That this was not a mere conjecture, and that king ARTHUR also was to be the hero of that piece, let but these verses of his *Mansus* be consider'd.

○ *mibi*

*O mihi si mea fors talem concedat amicum  
 Phœbæos decorasse viros qui tam bene norit,  
 Si quando indigenas revocabo in carmina reges,  
 Arturumque etiam sub terris bella moventem;  
 Aut dicam invictæ sociali fœdere mensæ  
 Magnanimos Heroas, & (O modo Spiritus adsit)  
 Frangam Saxonicas Britonum sub Marte Pbalanges.*

BUT to return to his lodgings, where we left him, there, both to be eas'd in the reading of the best authors, and to discharge his duty to his sister's sons that were partly committed to his tuition, he undertook the care of their education, and instructed them in *Latin, Grec, Hebrew*, and other oriental dialects; likewise in several parts of the mathematics, in cosmography, history, and some modern languages, as *French* and *Italian*. Some gentlemen of his intimate friends, and to whom he could deny nothing, prevail'd with him to impart the same benefits of learning to their sons, specially since the trouble was no more with many than a few. *He that well knew the greatest persons in all ages to have bin delighted with teaching others the principles of knowlege and virtue, easily comply'd; nor was his success unanswerable to the opinion which was generally entertain'd of his capacity.* And not content to acquaint his disciples with those books that are commonly read in the schools, wherof several, no doubt, are excellent in their kind, tho others are as trivial or impertinent; he made them likewise read in *Latin* the antient authors concerning husbandry, as *CATO, VARRO, COLUMELLA,* and *PALLADIUS*; also *CORNELIUS CELSUS* the physician,



physician, PLINY's Natural History, the Architecture of VITRUVIUS, the Stratagems of FRON-  
 TINUS, and the philosophical poets LUCRETIVS  
 and MANILIUS. To the usual Greek books, as  
 HOMER and HESIOD, he added ARATUS, DIONY-  
 SIUS PERIEGETES, OPPIAN, QUINTUS CALABER,  
 APOLLONIUS RHODIUS, PLUTARCH, XENOPHON,  
 ÆLIAN's Tactics, and the Stratagems of POLYÆ-  
 NUS. *It was this greatest sign of a good man in him, and  
 the highest obligation he could lay on his friends, with-  
 out any sordid or mercenary purposes, that gave occa-  
 sion to his adversaries with opprobriously terming him a  
 school-master; tho' were this charge as true as it is  
 utterly false, I see not how it should any way tend  
 to his dishonor, if he had bin necessitated to such a  
 laborious occupation for his living, and discharg'd  
 it with due honesty and care. But what's very re-  
 markable is, that the most forward to reproach him  
 in this manner were themselves mean tutors in the  
 university, and the greatest of 'em only a professor,  
 which are but nominally distinguishable from school-  
 masters.*

HE tells us himself in his second defence, "That  
 " on his return from travelling he found all  
 " mouths open against the bishops, some com-  
 " plaining of their vices, and others quarrelling at  
 " the very order; and that thinking from such  
 " beginnings a way might be open'd to true li-  
 " berty, he heartily engag'd in the dispute, as well  
 " to rescue his fellow-citizens from slavery, as to  
 " help the puritan ministers, who were inferior to  
 " the bishops in learning." He first of all ther-  
 fore, in the year 1641. publish'd two books of Re-  
 formation,



*formation*, dedicated to a friend. In the first of these he shews, by orderly steps, from HENRY the eighth's reign, what were all along the real impediments in this kingdom to a perfect reformation, which in general he reduces to two heads, that is, our retaining of ceremonies, and confining the power of ordination to diocesan bishops exclusively of the people. " Our ceremonies, he says, " are senseless in themselves, and serve for nothing " but either to facilitate our return to popery ; or " to hide the defects of better knowledge, and to " set off the pomp of prelacy." As for the bishops, many of whom he denies not to have bin good men, tho not infallible, nor above all human frailties, he affirms, " that at the beginning, tho they had re- " nounc'd the pope, they hug'd the popedom, " and shar'd the authority among themselves." In king EDWARD the sixth's time, he affirms, " they " were with their prostitute gravities the common " staies to countenance every politic fetch that " was then on foot. If a toleration for mass were " to be beg'd of the king for his sister MARY, lest " CHARLES the fifth should be angry ; who but the " grave prelates, CRANMER and RIDLEY, should " be sent to extort it from the young king ? When " the lord SUDLEY, admiral of *England*, and the " protector's brother, was wrongfully to lose his " life, no man could be found fitter than LATIMER " to divulge in his sermon the forg'd accusations " laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with " the people. CRANMER, one of king HENRY's " executors, and the other bishops, did, to gratify " the ambition of a traitor, consent to exclude " from

“ from the succession, not only MARY the papist,  
 “ but also ELIZABETH the protestant, tho before  
 “ declar’d by themselves the lawful issue of their  
 “ late master.” In queen ELIZABETH’s reign he  
 imputes the obstructions of a further reformation  
 still to the bishops, and then proceeds from anti-  
 quity to prove that all ecclesiastical elections be-  
 long’d to the people; but that if those ages had  
 favor’d episcopacy, we should not be much con-  
 cern’d, since *the best times were spreadingly infected,*  
*the best men of those times foully tainted, and the best*  
*writings of those men dangerously adulterated*; which  
 propositions he labors to prove at large. In the  
 second book he continues his discourse of prelatic  
 episcopacy, displays the politics of the same;  
 which, according to him, are always opposit to  
 liberty: he deduces the history of it down from  
 its remotest original, and shews, that in *England*  
 particularly it is so far from being, as they com-  
 monly allege, the only form of church-disciplin  
 agreeable to monarchy, that the mortallest diseases  
 and convulsions of the government did ever pro-  
 ceed from the craft of the prelates, or was occa-  
 sion’d by their pride. (Then he encourages the  
*English* and *Scots* to pursue their begun contest for  
 liberty by this exhortation. “ Go on both, hand  
 “ in hand, O nations, never to be disunited. Be  
 “ the praise and the heroic song of all posterity.  
 “ Merit this; but seek only virtue, not to extend  
 “ your limits: for what need you win a fading  
 “ triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched  
 “ men; but to settle the pure worship of God in  
 “ his church, and justice in the state? Then shall

“ the hardest difficulties smoothe out themselves be-  
 “ fore you ; envy shall sink to hell, craft and ma-  
 “ lice be confounded, whether it be homebred  
 “ mischief, or outlandish cunning : yea other na-  
 “ tions will then covet to serve you ; for lordship  
 “ and victory are but the pages of justice and vir-  
 “ tue. Commit securely to true wisdom the van-  
 “ quishing and uncasing of craft and subtilty,  
 “ which are but her two runnagates. Join your  
 “ invincible might to do worthy and Godlike  
 “ deeds, and then he that seeks to break your  
 “ union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all  
 “ generations.”

AFTER this, certain ministers having written a  
 treatise against episcopacy, the title *Smetymnuus*,  
 consisting of the initial letters of their names, and  
 a bishop of no small authority having bestow'd an  
 answer upon it, MILTON, to use his own words,  
 supposing himself not less able to write for truth,  
 than others for their profit or unjust power, pub-  
 lish'd his piece of *prelatical episcopacy*. In this  
 book he proves against the famous USHER (for he  
 would not readily ingage a meaner adversary) that  
 diocesan episcopacy, or a superior order to the com-  
 mon ministry, cannot be deduc'd from the aposto-  
 lical times by the force of such testimonies as are  
 alleg'd to that purpose. Now USHER's chief ta-  
 lent lying in much reading, and being a great edi-  
 tor and admirer of old writings, MILTON shews  
 the insufficiency, inconveniency, and impiety of this  
 method to establish any part of christianity ; and  
 blames those persons who cannot think any doubt  
 resolv'd, or any doctrine confirm'd, unless they run



to that indigested heap and fry of authors which they call antiquity. " Whatsoever either time  
 " (says he) or the heedless hand of blind chance,  
 " has drawn down to this present in her huge  
 " dragnet, whether fish or seaweed, shells or  
 " shrubs, unpick'd, unchosen, those are the fa-  
 " thers." And so he chides the good bishop for divulging useless treatises, stuff with the specious names of IGNATIUS and POLYCARPUS, with fragments of old martyrologies and legends, to distract and stagger the multitude of credulous readers.

His next performance was *the reason of church-government urg'd against prelacy, in two books*, principally intended against the same USHER's account of the original of episcopacy. The eloquence is masculine, the method is natural, the sentiments are free, and the whole (God knows) appears to have a very different force from what the nonconformist divines wrote in those days, or since that time, on the same subject. In the beginning of the second book he mentions his design of writing an epic poem, but continues still unresolv'd, whether his hero should be some prince before the conquest, or the argument be borrow'd from the scripture or the antient heathen history. But because the account he gives of what the poet should propose by such a work is exactly just, and withal so properly express'd, I shall not grudge to transcribe it in this place. " These abilities (says he, speaking  
 " of invention and composition) whosoever they  
 " be found, are the inspir'd gift of God; rarely  
 " bestow'd, but yet to some (tho most abuse them)

“ in every nation, and are of power to breed and  
“ cherish in a great people the seeds of virtue and  
“ public civility, to allay the perturbations of the  
“ mind, and set the affections in a right tune ;—or  
“ lastly, whatsoever is in religion holy and sublime,  
“ in virtue amiable or grave, whatsoever has pas-  
“ sion or admiration in all the changes of that  
“ which is call'd fortune from without, or the  
“ wily subtilties and refluxes of mans thoughts  
“ from within, all these things with a solid and  
“ treatable smoothness to paint out and describe.  
“ Teaching over the whole book of sanctity and  
“ virtue thro all the instances of example, and  
“ with such delight, to those especially of a soft  
“ and delicious temper (who will not so much as  
“ look upon truth herself, unless they see her ele-  
“ gantly drest) that wheras the paths of honesty  
“ and good life appear now rugged and difficult,  
“ tho they be indeed easy and pleasant ; they  
“ would then appear to all men both easy and  
“ pleasant, tho they were rugged and difficult  
“ indeed. And what a benefit this would be to  
“ our youth and gentry, may be soon gueſt by  
“ what we know of the corruption and bane which  
“ they suck in daily from the writings and interludes  
“ of libidinous and ignorant poetasters ; who hav-  
“ ing scarce ever heard of that which is the main  
“ consistence of a true poem, the choice of such  
“ persons as they ought to introduce, and what is  
“ moral and decent to each one, do for the most  
“ part lap up vitious principles in sweet pills to be  
“ swallow'd down, and make the taste of virtuous  
“ documents

“ documents harsh and sour. But because the  
 “ spirit of man cannot demean it self lively in  
 “ this body without som recreating intermission of  
 “ labor and serious things, it were happy for the  
 “ commonwealth, if our magistrats, as in those  
 “ famous governments of old, would take into  
 “ their care not only the deciding of our conten-  
 “ tious law cases or brauls, but the managing of  
 “ our public sports and festival pastimes; that they  
 “ might not be such as were authoriz’d a while  
 “ since, the provocations of drunkenness and lust,  
 “ but such as may inure and harden our bodies by  
 “ martial exercises to all warlike skill and per-  
 “ formances; and may civilize, adorn, and make  
 “ discrete our minds by the learned and affable  
 “ meeting of frequent academies, and the procure-  
 “ ment of wise and artful recitations, sweeten’d  
 “ with eloquent and graceful inticements to the  
 “ love and practice of justice, temperance and  
 “ fortitude, instructing and bettering the nation  
 “ at all opportunities, that the voice of wisdom  
 “ and virtue may be heard every where. Whether  
 “ this may not be don, not only in pulpits, but  
 “ after another persuasive method, at set and so-  
 “ lemn paneguries, in theatres, porticos, or what  
 “ other place or way may win most upon the peo-  
 “ ple to receive at once both recreation and instruc-  
 “ tion, let them in authority consult.”

ANOTHER eminent \* bishop having written against  
 SMECTYMNUS, our author publish’d *animadversions*  
 on his book; and to the reasons alleg’d from coun-  
 cils for substituting a constant form to occasional

\* *Joseph Hall.*



prayers in public, he gives the following answer:  
“ Set the grave councils, says he, upon their  
“ shelves again, and string them hard, lest their  
“ various and jangling opinions put their leaves  
“ into a flutter. I shall not intend this hot season  
“ to lead you a course thro the wide and dusty  
“ champain of the councils; but shall take coun-  
“ sel of that which counsel'd them, reason: and  
“ tho I know there is an obsolete reprehension now  
“ at your tongues end, yet I shall be bold to say,  
“ that reason is the gift of God in one man as well  
“ as in a thousand. By that which we have tasted  
“ already of their cisterns, we may find that reason  
“ was the only thing, and not any divine com-  
“ mand, that mov'd them to injoin the set forms  
“ of a liturgy. First, lest any thing in general  
“ might be missaid in their public prayers, thro  
“ ignorance or want of care, contrary to the faith:  
“ and next, lest the *Arians* and *Pelagians* in par-  
“ ticular should infect the people by their hymns  
“ and forms of prayer. But by the good leave of  
“ these antient fathers, this was no solid preven-  
“ tion of spreading heresy, to debar the ministers  
“ of God the use of their noblest talent, prayer in  
“ the congregation; unless they had forbid the  
“ use of all sermons and lectures too, but such as  
“ were ready made to their hands like our homi-  
“ lies: or else he that was heretically dispos'd had  
“ as fair an opportunity of infecting in his dis-  
“ course, as in his prayer or hymn. As insuffi-  
“ ciently, and, to say truth, as imprudently did  
“ they provide by their contriv'd liturgies, lest  
“ any thing should be pray'd thro ignorance or  
“ want

“ want of care in the ministers : for if they were  
 “ careless and ignorant in their prayers, certainly  
 “ they would be more careless in their preaching,  
 “ and still more careless in watching over their  
 “ flock ; and what prescription could reach to  
 “ bound them in both these ? What if reason,  
 “ now illustrated by the word of God, shall be  
 “ able to produce a better prevention than these  
 “ councils have left us against heresy, ignorance,  
 “ or want of care in the ministry, to wit, that  
 “ such wisdom and diligence be us’d in the educa-  
 “ tion of those that would be ministers, and such  
 “ a strict and serious examination to be undergon  
 “ before their admission, as *St. Paul to Timothy*  
 “ sets down at large ; and then they need not carry  
 “ such an unworthy suspicion over the preachers  
 “ of God’s word, as to tutor their unsoundness  
 “ with the a, b, c, of a liturgy, or to diet their  
 “ ignorance and want of care with the limited  
 “ draught of a mattin and evensong drench.”  
 What his opinion was of the fathers he further  
 declares, when he calls them those more antient  
 “ than trusty fathers, whom custom and fond  
 “ opinion, weak principles, and the neglect of  
 “ sounder knowlege, has exalted so high, as to  
 “ have gain’d them a blind reverence ; whose  
 “ books in bigness and number endless and im-  
 “ measurable, I cannot think that either God or  
 “ nature, either divine or human wisdom, did  
 “ ever mean should be a rule or reliance to us  
 “ in the decision of any weighty and positive doc-  
 “ trins : for certainly every rule and instrument  
 “ of necessary knowlege that God has given us,  
 “ ought

" ought to be so in proportion as may be wielded  
 " and manag'd by the life of man, without pen-  
 " ning him up from the duties of human so-  
 " ciety.—But he that shall bind himself to make  
 " antiquity his rule, if he reads but part (besides  
 " the difficulty of choice) his rule is deficient,  
 " and utterly unsatisfying ; for there may be  
 " other writers of another mind, which he has  
 " not seen : And if he undertakes all, the length  
 " of mans life cannot extend to give him a full  
 " and requisit knowlege of what was don in an-  
 " tiquity.—Go therfore and use all your art, apply  
 " your sledges, your leavers, and your iron crows,  
 " to heave and hale your mighty POLYPHEMUS of  
 " antiquity, to the delusion of novices and unex-  
 " perienc'd Christians." The present ecclesiastical  
 revenues, he says, were not at first the effects of  
 " just policy or wholesom laws, but of the super-  
 " stitious devotion of princes and great men that  
 " knew no better, or of the base importunity of beg-  
 " ging friars, haunting and harrassing the death-  
 " beds of men departing this life in a blind and  
 " wretched condition of hope to merit heaven for  
 " the building of churches, cloysters, and con-  
 " vents ; the black revenues of purgatory, the  
 " price of abus'd and murder'd souls, the damn'd  
 " simony of trentals, and the hire of indulgences  
 " to commit mortal sin."

MILTON's next book was his *Apology* against the  
 same reverend person, who tax'd his *Animadversions*  
 with being a scurrilous libel. This adversary, as it  
 has always bin the custom of som people when  
 they can neither answer well nor defend, had re-  
 course



course to diffamation and personal reflections, which, had they bin true, could not derogat from the force of his arguments ; but, being false, must be cal'd by their true names of lying and slander. Our author therefore intreats those who have found the leisure to read his name unworthily diffam'd, that they would be so good and so patient as to hear the same person not unneedfully defended. Being accus'd of having bin an inordinat and riotous youth vomited out of the university, he makes this reply : " For this commodious ly I  
" thank him ; for it has given me an apt occasion  
" to acknowlege publicly with all grateful mind  
" that more than ordinary favor and respect which  
" I found above any of my equals at the hands  
" of those courteous and learned men, the fellows  
" of that college wherin I spent som years : who  
" at my parting, after having taken two degrees (as the manner is) signify'd many ways  
" how much better it would content them that I  
" should stay, as by many letters full of kindness  
" and loving respect, both before that time and  
" long after, I was assur'd of their singular good  
" affection towards me. Which being likewise  
" propense to all such as were for their studious  
" and civil life worthy of esteem, I could not  
" wrong their judgments and upright intentions  
" so much as to think I had that regard from them  
" for any other cause than that I might be still incourag'd to procede in the honest and laudable  
" course, of which they apprehended I had given  
" good proof.—As for the common approbation or  
" dislike of that place, as now it is, that I should  
" esteem

“ esteem or difesteem myself or any other the  
“ more for that, is too simple and too credulous  
“ in the confuter, if he thinks to obtain with me  
“ or any right discerner. Of small practice was  
“ that physician who could not judge by what both  
“ she or her sister have of a long time vomited,  
“ that the worse stuff she strongly keeps in her  
“ stomach, but the better she is ever keeking at,  
“ and is queasy. She vomits now out of sickness,  
“ but ere it be well with her she must vomit  
“ by strong physic.—The suburb wherein I dwell  
“ shall be in my account a more honorable place  
“ than his university; which, as in the time of  
“ her better health, and my own younger judgment,  
“ I never greatly admir’d, so now much  
“ less.” This is not the only passage of the *Apo-*  
*logy*, wherein he testifies his content of the universities;  
for in another place he says, “ that what  
“ with truanting and debauchery, what with false  
“ grounds, and the weakness of natural faculties  
“ in many of them (it being a maxim with some  
“ men to send the simplest of their sons thither)  
“ perhaps there would be found among them as  
“ many unsolid and corrupted judgments, both in  
“ doctrine and life, as in any other two corporations  
“ of like bigness. This is undoubted, that  
“ if any carpenter, smith, or weaver, were such a  
“ bungler in his trade, as the greater number of  
“ them are in their profession, he would starve for  
“ any custom: and should he exercise his manufacture  
“ as little as they do their talents, he would  
“ forget his art: or should he mistake his tools as  
“ they do theirs, he would mar all the work he  
“ took

“ took in hand. How few among them that know  
“ how to write or speak in a pure stile, much less  
“ to distinguish the ideas and various kind of  
“ stile! In *Latin* barbarous, and oft not without  
“ solœcisms, declaming in rugged and miscellane-  
“ ous gear blown together by the four winds;  
“ and in their choice preferring the gay rankness  
“ of APULEIUS, ARNOBIUS, or any modern  
“ *Fustianist*, before the native Latinisms of CICERO.  
“ In the *Greek* tongue most of them unletter’d or  
“ unenter’d to any sound proficiency in those *Attic*  
“ masters of wisdom and eloquence. In the *Hebrew*  
“ text, except it be some few of them, their lips are  
“ utterly uncircumcis’d. No less are they out of  
“ the way in philosophy, pestring their heads with  
“ the senseless dotages of old *Paris* and *Salamanca*.  
“ His antagonist insinuating a malicious representa-  
“ tion even of his early rising, he tells him, that his  
“ morning haunts are, where they should be, at  
“ home; not sleeping, or concocting the surfeits  
“ of an irregular feast, but up and stirring; in  
“ winter often before the sound of any bell awake  
“ men to labor or devotion; in summer as oft with  
“ the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to  
“ read good authors, or cause them to be read, till  
“ the attention be weary, or memory have its full  
“ fraught. Then with useful and generous labors  
“ preserving the body’s health and hardiness, to  
“ render a lightsom, clear, and not a lumpish obe-  
“ dience to the mind, for the cause of religion,  
“ and our country’s liberty, when it shall require  
“ firm hearts in sound bodies to stand and cover  
“ their stations, rather than see the ruin of our  
“ pro-



“ protestation, and the inforcement of a slavish  
“ life.” Passing over his serious and just apology  
for frequenting playhouses, I shall subjoin the reason he gives why some terms of the stage might appear in his writings without having learnt them in the theater; “ which was not needful, says he,  
“ when in the colleges so many of the young  
“ divines, and those in next aptitude to divinity,  
“ have bin seen so often on the stage, writhing  
“ and unboning their clergy limbs to, all the antic  
“ and dishonest gestures of trinculos, buffoons,  
“ and bauds: prostituting the shame of that ministry, which either they had or were nigh having,  
“ to the eyes of courtiers and court ladies, with  
“ their grooms and mademoiselles. There while  
“ they acted and overacted, among other young  
“ scholars I was a spectator; they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools;  
“ they made sport, and I laugh’d; they mispronounc’d, and I mislik’d; and, to make  
“ up the atticism, they were out, and I hift.” He was to answer next to the heavy charge of lewdness with common prostitutes; and because the account he gives of himself upon this occasion, and of that part of his poetry which regards the affairs of love, is not only essential to the history of his life, but of good instruction also to such as read such pleasant and alluring books, I suppose none will be offended with me for laying it here before them. “ I had my time, says he, like others  
“ that have good learning bestow’d upon them, to  
“ be sent to those places where the opinion was it  
“ might be soonest attain’d; and, as the manner  
“ is,

“ is, was not unstudy'd in those authors which are  
“ most commended. Of these som were grave  
“ orators and historians, whose matter methought  
“ I lov'd indeed ; but as my age then was, so I  
“ understood them. Others were the smooth elē-  
“ giac poets, wherof the schools are not scarce,  
“ whom both for the pleasing sound of their nu-  
“ merous writings (which in imitation I found  
“ most easy, and most agreable to nature's part  
“ in me) and for their matter, which what it is  
“ there be few who know not, I was so allur'd to  
“ read, that no recreation came to me more wel-  
“ com : for that it was then those years with me,  
“ which are excus'd tho they be least severe, I may  
“ be sav'd the labor to remember you. Whence  
“ having observ'd them to account it the chief glory  
“ of their wit that they were ablest to judg to praise,  
“ and by that could esteem themselves worthiest to  
“ love those high perfections, which under one or  
“ other name they took to celebrat ; I thought  
“ with my self by every instinct and presage of  
“ nature (which is not wont to be false) that what  
“ embolden'd them to this task, might with such  
“ diligence as they us'd embolden me : and that  
“ what judgment, wit, or elegance, was my share,  
“ would herein best appear, and best value it self,  
“ by how much more wisely and with more love  
“ of virtue I should chuse (let rude ears be absent)  
“ the object of not unlike praises. For tho these  
“ thoughts to som will seem virtuous and com-  
“ mendable, to others only pardonable, to a third  
“ fort perhaps idle ; yet the mentioning of them  
“ now will end in serious. Nor blame it, readers,  
“ in

“ in those years to propose to themselves such a re-  
“ ward as the noblest dispositions above other things  
“ in this life have sometimes prefer'd : wherof not  
“ to be sensible, when good and fair in one person  
“ meet, argues both a gross and shallow judgment,  
“ and withal an ungentle and swainish breast. For  
“ by the firm settling of these persuasions I be-  
“ came (to my best memory) so much a pro-  
“ ficient, that if I found those authors any where  
“ speaking unworthy things of themselves, or un-  
“ chaste of those names which before they had ex-  
“ tol'd, this effect it wrought with me, that from  
“ that time forward their art I still applauded, but  
“ the men I deplor'd ; and above them all pre-  
“ fer'd the two famous renowners of BEATRICE  
“ and LAURA, who never write but honor of them  
“ to whom they devote their verse, displaying  
“ sublime and pure thoughts without transgression.  
“ And long it was not after, when I was confirm'd  
“ in the opinion that he, who would not be fru-  
“ strated of his hope to write well hereafter in  
“ laudable things, ought himself to be a true  
“ poem ; that is, a composition and pattern  
“ of the best and honorablest things : not pre-  
“ suming to sing the high praises of heroic men or  
“ famous cities, unless he has in himself the experi-  
“ ence and the practice of all that is praiseworthy.  
“ These reasonings, together with a certain nice-  
“ ness of nature, an honest haughtiness and self-  
“ esteem either of what I was, or what I might be  
“ (which let envy call pride) and lastly, a becoming  
“ modesty, all uniting the supply of their natural  
“ aid together, kept me still above those low de-  
“ scents



“ scents of mind, beneath which he must deject  
“ and plunge himself that can agree to salable and  
“ unlawful prostitutions. Next I betook me  
“ among those lofty fables and romances which  
“ recount in solemn cantos the deeds of knight-  
“ hood founded by our victorious kings, and  
“ from hence had in renown over all christendom.  
“ There I read it in the oath of every knight, that  
“ he should defend to the expence of his blood, or  
“ of his life, if it so beset him, the honor and  
“ chastity of virgin or matron : from whence even  
“ then I learnt what a noble virtue chastity sure  
“ must be, to the defence of which so many wor-  
“ thies by such a dear adventure of themselves  
“ had sworn ; and if I found in the story after-  
“ wards any of them by word or deed breaking  
“ that oath, I judg’d it the same fault of the poet,  
“ as that which is attributed to HOMER, to have  
“ written undecent things of the Gods. Only  
“ this my mind gave me, that every free and  
“ gentle spirit without that oath ought to be  
“ born a knight, nor needed to expect the gilt  
“ spur, or the laying of a sword upon his shoul-  
“ der, to stir him up both by his counsel and his  
“ arm, to secure and protect the weakness of any  
“ attempted chastity. So that even those books,  
“ which to many others have bin the fuel of wan-  
“ tonness and loose living (I cannot think how,  
“ unless by divine indulgence) prov’d to me so  
“ many inticements, as you have heard, to the  
“ love and stedfast observation of that virtue  
“ which abhors the society of bordellos. Thus  
“ from the laureat fraternity of poets, riper years,

“ and the ceaseless round of study and reading led  
 “ me to the shady walks of philosophy ; but chiefly  
 “ to the divine volumes of PLATO, and his equal  
 “ XENOPHON : where if I should tell you what I  
 “ learnt of chastity and love ; I mean that which  
 “ is truly so, whose charming cup is only virtue,  
 “ which she bears in her hand to those who are  
 “ worthy (the rest are cheated with a thick in-  
 “ toxicating potion, which a certain sorceress, the  
 “ abuser of Love's name, carries about) and if I  
 “ should tell you how the first and chiefest office of  
 “ love begins and ends in the soul, producing  
 “ those happy twins of her divine generation,  
 “ knowledge and virtue, with such abstracted sub-  
 “ limities as these, it might be worth your listen-  
 “ ing, readers, as I may one day hope to have  
 “ you in a still time, and when there shall be no  
 “ chiding.” Thus far our author, who afterwards  
 made this character good in his inimitable poem of  
*Paradise Lost* : and before this time in his *Comus* or  
 mask presented at Ludlow castle, like which piece in  
 the peculiar disposition of the story, the sweetness of the  
 numbers, the justness of the expression, and the moral it  
 teaches, there is nothing extant in any language. But  
 to procede with the rest of the *Apology* ; he's in it  
 very severe upon the clergy, not only because in his  
 judgment he condemn'd several of their maxims,  
 but also provok'd by the ill usage he receiv'd.  
 Certainly nothing more barbarous and inhuman  
 ever proceeded from the mouth of pope or musti,  
 than this saying of his antagonist, “ You that  
 “ love Christ, and know this miscreant wretch,  
 “ stone him to death, lest you smart for his im-  
 “ puny.”

“punity.” No wonder that so many are scandaliz’d when they find the name of CHRIST most impudently alleg’d to countenance such devilish practices, when there is nothing more evident than that he expressly injoin’d his followers to forgive their enemies, and not to pursue ’em with the spirit of revenge, but rather to reclame them from their errors, and to do them all the good they could. Our author, on the other hand, carries his resentments, no doubt, too far, when the following words could drop from his pen. “There be such  
 “in the world, and I among those, who nothing  
 “admire the idol of a bishoprick; and hold that  
 “it wants so much to be a blessing, as that I deem  
 “it the merest, the falsest, the most unfortunat  
 “gift of fortune: and were the punishment and  
 “misery of being a bishop terminated only in the  
 “person, and did not extend to the affliction of  
 “the whole diocess, if I would wish any thing in  
 “the bitterness of my soul to an enemy, I should  
 “wish him the biggest and fattest bishoprick.” If MILTON had bin such a saint as never mist of a favorable answer to his prayers, I question not but at this rate more would covet to be his enemies than his friends. Another mark of his good will to the prelates is this unpardonable simile. “A bishop’s  
 “foot, says he, that has all its toes (maugre the  
 “gout) and a linen sock over it, is the aptest emblem of the prelat himself; who, being a pluralist, may under one surplice hide four benefices,  
 “besides the great metropolitan to which sends a  
 “foul stench to heaven.” And in another place he calls them, “*the gulfs and whirlpools of benefices,*



“ but *the dry pits of all sound doctrin.*” Agreeable  
 to these flowers is his description of chaplains some-  
 where in *Iconoclastes*. “ Bishops or presbyters we  
 “ know, says he, and deacons we know ; but what  
 “ are chaplains ? In state perhaps they may be  
 “ listed among the upper serving men of some great  
 “ household, and be admitted to some such place as  
 “ may stile them the sewers or yeomenushers of  
 “ devotion, where the master is too resty, or too  
 “ rich to say his own prayers, or to bless his own  
 “ table.” How much he lov’d to divert himself  
 in this manner, we may perceive by his apostrophe  
 to the presbyterian ministers, who were heavily  
 branded by king CHARLES the first, tho  
 after his death they would fain be thought his  
 very dutiful and good friends. “ O ye ministers,  
 “ says MILTON, read here what work he makes  
 “ among your gallypots, your balms, and your  
 “ cordials, and not only your sweet sippets in wi-  
 “ dows houses, but the huge gobbets wherewith he  
 “ charges you to have devour’d houses and all.  
 “ Cry him up for a saint in your pulpits, while he  
 “ crys you down for atheists into hell.” Nor is he  
 more merciful to the liturgy, than to the readers of  
 it, as appears by this character. “ To contend  
 “ that it is fantastical, if not senseless in some places  
 “ were a copious argument, specially in the re-  
 “ sponsories. For such alternations as are there us’d  
 “ must be by several persons ; but the minister and  
 “ the people cannot so sever their interests as to  
 “ sustain several persons, he being the only mouth  
 “ of the whole body which he presents. And if  
 “ the people pray, he being silent, or they ask one  
 “ thing

“ thing and he another, it either changes the pro-  
 “ perty, making the priest the people, and the  
 “ people the priest by turns, or else makes two  
 “ persons and two bodies representative, where there  
 “ should be but one: which, if there were nothing  
 “ else, must be a strange quaintness in ordinary  
 “ prayer. The like or worse may be said of the  
 “ Litany, wherein neither priest nor people speak  
 “ any intire sense of themselves throout the whole  
 “ (I know not what to name it) only by the time-  
 “ ly contribution of their parted stakes, closing  
 “ up as it were the schism of a slic’d prayer, they  
 “ pray not in vain; for by this means they keep  
 “ life between them in a piece of gasping sense,  
 “ and keep down the sauciness of a continual re-  
 “ bounding nonsense. And hence it is that as it  
 “ has bin far from the imitation of any warranted  
 “ prayer, so we all know it has bin obvious to be  
 “ the pattern of many a jig. And he who has but  
 “ read in good books of devotion, and no more,  
 “ cannot be so either of ear or judgment unprac-  
 “ tis’d to distinguish what is grave, pathetical,  
 “ devout, and what not; but he will presently  
 “ perceive this liturgy all over in conception lean  
 “ and dry, of affections emty, and unmoving of  
 “ passion, or any height wherto the soul might  
 “ soar upon the wings of zeal, destitute and barren.  
 “ Besides errors, tautologies, impertinences, as  
 “ those thanks in the woman’s churching for her  
 “ delivery from sunburning and moonblasting, as  
 “ if she had bin travelling, not in her bed, but in  
 “ the deserts of *Arabia*. So that while som men  
 “ cease not to admire the incomparable frame of  
 “ our liturgy, I cannot but admire as fast what

“ they think is becom of judgment and taste in other  
 “ men, that they can hope to be heard without  
 “ laughter. And if this were all, perhaps it were  
 “ a compliable matter. But when we remember this  
 “ our liturgy, where we found it, whence we had it,  
 “ and yet where we left it, still serving to all the  
 “ abominations of the antichristian temple, it may  
 “ be wonder’d how we can demur, whether it  
 “ should be abolish’d or no, and not rather fear  
 “ we have highly offended in using it so long. It  
 “ has indeed bin pretended to be more antient than  
 “ the mass, but so little prov’d, that wheras other  
 “ corrupt liturgies have had such a seeming anti-  
 “ quity, that their publishers have ventur’d to  
 “ ascribe them either to St. PETER, St. JAMES, St.  
 “ MARK, or at least to CHRYSOSTOM, or BASIL,  
 “ ours has bin never able to find either age or au-  
 “ thor allowable on whom to father those things  
 “ which therin are least offensive, except the two  
 “ creeds.” I shall conclude my account of his  
 books concerning religious controversies with this  
 remarkable account of his reading in the councils  
 and fathers of the church. “ Som years, says he,  
 “ I had spent in the stories of those *Greek* and  
 “ *Roman* exploits, wherein I found many things  
 “ both nobly don and worthily spoken : when  
 “ coming in the method of time to that age wherein  
 “ the church had obtain’d a *Christian* emperor, I  
 “ so prepar’d my self as being now to read examples  
 “ of wisdom and goodness among those who  
 “ were foremost in the church, not elsewhere to  
 “ be parallel’d. But to the amazement of what I  
 “ expected, readers, I found it quite contrary ;  
 “ excepting in som very few, nothing but ambition,  
 “ cor-



“ corruption, contention, combustion : infomuch  
 “ that I could not but love the historian SOCRATES,  
 “ who in the proem to his fifth book professes, he  
 “ was fain to intermix affairs of state, for that it  
 “ would be else an extreme annoyance to hear in a  
 “ continu’d discourse the endless brabbles and coun-  
 “ terplottings of the bishops. Finding therefore  
 “ the most of their actions in particular to be weak  
 “ and yet turbulent, full of strife and yet flat of  
 “ spirit, and the sum of their best councils there  
 “ collected to be most commonly in questions either  
 “ trivial and vain, or else of short and easy deci-  
 “ sion, without that great bustle which they made :  
 “ I concluded that if their single ambition and  
 “ ignorance was such, then certainly united in a  
 “ council it would be much more ; and if the com-  
 “ pendious recital of what they there did was so  
 “ tedious and unprofitable, then surely to fit out  
 “ the whole extent of their tattle in a dozen vo-  
 “ lumes, would be a loss of time irrecoverable.  
 “ Besides that which I had read of St. MARTIN,  
 “ who for his last sixteen years could never be per-  
 “ suaded to be at any council of the bishops ; and  
 “ GREGORY NAZIANZEN betook him to the same  
 “ resolution, affirming to PROCOPIUS that of any  
 “ council or meeting of bishops he never saw good  
 “ end, nor any remedy therby of evil in the church,  
 “ but rather an increase : for, says he, their con-  
 “ tentions and desire of lording no tongue is able  
 “ to exprefs.”

IN the year 1643 he chang’d his condition, and was  
 marry’d to MARY the daughter of RICHARD POWEL  
 of *Forresthill* in *Oxfordshire*, a justice of the peace.

and a man of good figure in that country. But whether it was that this young woman, accustom'd to a large and jovial family, could not live in a philosophical retirement; or that she was not perfectly satisfy'd with the person of her husband; or lastly, that, because her relations were all addicted to the royal interest, his democratical principles were disagreeable to her humor (nor is it impossible that the father repented of his match upon the prospect of some success on the king's side, who then had his headquarters at *Oxford*) or whatever were the reason, 'tis certain that after he enjoy'd her company at *London* about a month, she was invited by her friends to spend the rest of the summer in the country; to which he consented, on condition of her return by *Michaelmas*. Yet he saw her not at the time appointed, and, after receiving several of his letters without sending him any answer, she did at length positively refuse to come, dismissing his messenger with contempt. This usage incens'd him to that degree, that he thought it against his honor and repose to own her any longer for his wife. He made that time however as easy to himself as he might, sometimes by keeping a gaudy day with his friends, and at other times in conversation with the lady MARGARET LEE, daughter to the earl of *Marlborough*, whose sprightly wit and good sense drew frequent visits from him, and for whom he had a singular esteem, which he has left recorded by a sonnet in her praise among his other occasional poems. He thought it now high time to justify by proper arguments the firm resolution he had taken of never receiving his wife  
back

back again; and therefore in the year 1644 he publish'd his *Doctrin and disciplin of divorce*, which he dedicated to the parlament and to the assembly of divines, that as they were busy then about the general reformation of the kingdom, they might also take this particular case of domestic liberty into their consideration: for he thought all the boasted freedom of public judicatures signify'd little, if in the mean while one must be oblig'd to endure a kind of servitude at home below the dignity of a man. "What thing, says he, is more instituted to the solace and delight of man than marriage? And yet the misinterpreting of some scriptures directed mainly against the abusers of the law for divorce given by Moses, has chang'd the blessing of matrimony not seldom into a familiar and cohabiting mischief; at least, into a drooping and disconsolat household captivity, without refuge or redemption. So ungovern'd and so wild a race does superstition run us, from one extreme of abus'd liberty into the other of unmerciful restraint! Tho God in the first ordaining of marriage taught us to what end he did it (the words expressly implying the apt and chearful conversation of man with woman, to comfort and refresh him of the evil of a solitary life; not mentioning the purpose of generation till afterwards, as being but a secondary end in dignity tho not in necessity) yet now if any two be but once handed in the church, and have tasted in any sort the nuptial bed, let them find themselves never so mistaken in their dispositions thro any error, concealment, or misadventure;

" that



“ that thro their different tempers, thoughts, and  
 “ constitutions, they can neither be to one another  
 “ a remedy against loneliness, nor live in any union  
 “ or contentment all their days : yet they shall (so  
 “ they be but found suitably weapon'd to the least  
 “ possibility of sensual enjoyment) be made in spite  
 “ of antipathy to fast together, and combine, as  
 “ they may, to their unspeakable wearisomness, and  
 “ despair of all sociable delight, in the ordinance  
 “ which God establish'd to that very end.” Then  
 he largely shews all the unjust sanctions concerning  
 marriage to be owing to the superstition of some  
 antient fathers, and to the design of promoting the  
 gain or authority of the clergy, as they make a  
 part of the canon law : for the *Greeks*, the *Romans*,  
 and all civiliz'd nations, did not only allow of divorce  
 upon mutual aversion or consent ; but in many  
 other cases, besides the violation of the nuptial  
 bed, there was a separation made on the petition of  
 one party, tho the other should not be willing.  
 His purpose, in short, is to shew that there are  
 other sufficient reasons for divorce besides adul-  
 tery ; and that to prohibit any sort of divorce but  
 such as are excepted by *Moses*, is unjust and against  
 the reason of the law : in handling which heads he  
 has, besides his arguments from reason, had always  
 a due care to explain those passages of scripture  
 which are thought to contradict his opinion. The  
 grand position he maintains is, That *Indisposition*,  
*unfitness, or contrary humors, proceeding from any un-*  
*changeable cause in nature, binding and always likely*  
*to hinder the main ends and benefits of conjugal society*  
*(that is to say, peace and delight) are greater reasons of*  

*divorce*

*divorce than ADULTERY or natural FRIGIDITY, provided there be a mutual consent for separation.* And indeed it seems to be a perfect tyranny to oblige a man or woman beyond the design of their covenant: nor should they, who never try'd this condition together, be hinder'd from discretely and orderly undoing it, when they find things otherwise than they promis'd themselves; no more than in any other bargain people are punish'd for unwilling ignorance: since, whenever both parties are willing, they may draw back their stakes, and leave matters as they were before, or compound for the damages that may be don. It seems likewise to me very gross, that in lawmaking (particularly in the canon law) a regard should be had to the fit disposition of the marry'd couples bodies, and no consideration of the agreableness of their minds, when the charms of the latter are often the greatest inducements to the conjunction of the former. And since no man or woman can be secure of true information from others, nor infallible in their own observations upon one another's humors and conditions (specially since they are not admitted to a requisite familiarity for such an inquiry before marriage) it is the hardest thing in the world that no clauses should be provided for cases of this nature. As for the common objection, that marriage is a remedy against fornication and adultery, I grant it to be most true, if the parties mutually love; but if it be a forc'd compact, or afterwards dislik'd, it is so far from producing this good effect, that we clearly see by constant experience (and reason may convince us all of it) that such a fatal knot exposes  
men

men and women to various temptations, breaks the peace of families, exposes the reputation of the children, and disturbs or destroys all the duties of society. Nor does it answer the first institution, which supposes it was not good for man to be alone, since every body would rather chuse to be alone, than be forc'd to keep bad company. To conclude, marriage certainly, like all other contracts, was ordain'd for the benefit of man, and not man created for marriage: wherefore it ought to be futed to his convenience and happiness, and not be made a snare to render him uneasy or miserable. No pretences can be drawn from this opinion to favor libertinism, but on the contrary, the conduct of the opposers of it may be terribly hamper'd with infamous consequences, on which we shall not insist in this place, referring the curious to MILTON's own book. As for the popish and ridiculous practice in certain spiritual courts of separating people from bed and board (which any couple may agree to do themselves) and refusing 'em the liberty of marrying more for their convenience (if the civil power does not interpose for their relief) I shall have a more proper opportunity to shew the mischief and unreasonableness of it.

On the first appearing of this book, the clergy did generally declame against it, and fix'd upon the author the usual reproaches of atheism, heresy, leudness, and what not? They daily instigated the parliament, which little minded their clamors, to pass their censure on it; and at last one of them in a sermon before that august assembly, on a day of humiliation, roundly told them that there was a wicked



wicked book abroad which deserv'd to be burnt, and that among their other sins they ought to repent it had not yet bin branded with a mark of their displeasure. This man's main accusation being, that MILTON taught other causes of divorce than were mention'd by CHRIST and his apostles, which was also urg'd against him at the same time by som others, he publish'd the *Tetrachordon*, dedicated to the parliament, or his exposition of the four chief passages of scripture that treat of marriage, and the nullifying of the same, namely *Gen. i. 27, &c. Gen. ii. 18, &c. Deut. xxiv. 1, &c. Mat. v. 31, &c. and Mat. xxix. 3, &c.* Other places out of the epistles he also occasionally explains; he alleges the authority of those great men who favor'd his opinion, sets down the determination of the imperial laws, with more proofs that are usual in such cases. On this book our author himself made the following lines.

I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs  
By the known rules of antient liberty,  
When straight a barbarous noise invirons me  
Of owls, and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs :  
As when those hinds that were transform'd to frogs  
Rail'd at LATONA's twinborn progeny,  
Which after held the sun and moon in fee.  
But this is got by casting pearls to hogs,  
That baul for freedom in their senseless mood,  
And still revolt when truth would set them free.  
Licence they mean, when they cry liberty;  
For who loves that, must first be wise and good :  
But from that mark how far they roave we see,  
For all this waste of wealth and loss of blood.

THE

THE next piece he publish'd on this subject was *the judgment of the famous reformer MARTIN BUCER touching divorce*, extracted out of the second book of the kingdom of CHRIST, dedicated to king EDWARD the sixth. He exactly agrees with MILTON, tho the latter had not seen this book till after the publication of his own. He also shews very fairly, that PAULUS FAGIUS the associat of BUCER, that PETER MARTYR, ERASMUS, and GROTIUS, did teach the same doctrin, that he might stop the mouths of such as were determin'd more by these names than by all the light of reason or scripture; and that he might not appear to be cal'd an atheist or libertin with more reason than these persons, who notwithstanding they had affirm'd as much as he, were yet generally counted very sober and pious.

THE fourth book he wrote relating to divorce was his *Colasterion*, being a reply to one of his answerers, who, to all the dulness and ignorance imaginable, added the highest bitterness and malice: so far from tolerably understanding any of the learned languages (as in som secondhand quotations he would be thought to do) that he could not rightly spell what he so meanly stole. Yet this rude invective must be licens'd by Mr. CARRYL, the same who in his voluminous and senseless comments did more injury to the memory of JOB, than the devil and the *Sabeans* could inflict torments on him in his life time. But, not content to prefix his *imprimatur*, he pronounces his judgment too against MILTON, which was a most unworthy treatment of him from these men, of whom he deserv'd  
fo

so well by his former writings against their enemies the bishops ; tho, to speak the truth, this was only a service to the *presbyterians* by accident: for, as we shall see hereafter, he never intended, by humbling the hierarchy, to set up the consistorian tribunal in the room of it. However, the following reproach was extorted from him by their base ingratitude. “ Mr. Licenser, says he, you are reputed a man discrete enough, religious enough, honest enough, that is, to an ordinary competence in all these : But now your turn is to hear what your own hand has earn’d you, that when you suffer’d this nameless hangman to cast into public such a spiteful contumely upon a name and person deserving of the church and state equally to your self, and one who has don more to the present advancement of your own tribe, than you or many of them have don for themselves ; you forgot to be either honest, religious, or discrete. Whatever the state might do concerning it, supposing it were a matter to expect evil from it, I should not doubt to meet among them with wise, and honorable, and knowing men. But as to this brute libel, so much the more impudent and lawless for the abus’d authority which it bears, I say again, that I abominat the censure of rascals and their licensers.” These are all the pieces concerning divorce written by MILTON, whose arguments ought not to be esteem’d the less cogent, because occasion’d by his domestic uneasiness ; when this reason would equally enervat the apologies exhibited for Christianity under its persecutors, *and frustrat all the noble treatises*



*tises of civil government, for which we are beholding to the lawfulness of tyrants or usurpers; witness the incomparable and golden discourses of that heroic patron of liberty, ALGERNON SIDNEY. And indeed the best books we have on any subject, are such as were oppos'd to the prevalency of the contrary opinion; for as he that was forc'd to pass some part of his time in the regions of extreme heat or cold, can best value the blessings of a temperate country; so none can be so well furnish'd with arguments for a good cause, like such as were sufferers under a bad one: the writings of unconcern'd and retir'd persons being either an exercise of their parts, and the amusements of idle time, or, what is worse, pitiful declamations without any force, experience, or vivacity.*

ABOUT this time MILTON wrote a small piece of education to SAMUEL HARTLIB, looking upon the right institution of children to be the nursery of all true liberty or virtue; and of whatsoever in government is good and wise, or in private practice amiable and worthy.

THE next Book he wrote was his *Areopagitica*, or an oration to the parliament of England for the liberty of unlicens'd printing; in which he proves that the republics of Greece and Italy never censur'd any but immoral, diffamatory, or atheistical pieces. Nor was it by inferences and insinuations they were to judge of atheism; for they never suppress the writings of the Epicureans, nor such other books denying even the doctrines of Providence, and the future state: but it must have been a formal doubt or denial of the being of a deity. Yet it is beyond contradiction, that those nations maintain'd an excellent government, distributing  
public

public and privat justice, and abounding in all knowledge and virtue, infinitely above those who have bin ever since the most rigid purgers, corrupters, or executioners of books. The Roman emperors were tyrants, and none but such as would imitat them, should quote their examples. The primitive Christians observ'd no uniformity of conduct in this affair. At first they were for reading all the works of the Gentils, but none of those they reckon'd heretical among themselves; after this they were only for confuting the books of the heretics, and suppressing those of the Gentils, even such as did not in the least concern religion: for about the year 400, in a Carthaginian council, the very bishops were prohibited the reading of heathen authors. Had this infamous and barbarous resolution bin throly executed (for it had but too much effect) to what a degree of ignorance and meanness of spirit it would have reduc'd the world, depriving it of so many inimitable historians, orators, philosophers, and poets, the repositories of inestimable treasure, consisting of warlike and heroic deeds, the best and wisest arts of government, the most perfect rules and examples of eloquence or politeness, and such divine lectures of wisdom and virtue, that the loss of CICERO's works alone, or those of LIVY, could not be repair'd by all the fathers of the church. In process of time, when the clergy begun to be exalted even above the supreme magistrat himself, they burnt and destroy'd every thing that did not favor their power or superstition, and laid a restraint on reading as well as writing, without excepting the very Bible; and thus they proceded till the inquisition reduc'd this abominable practice to the perfection of an art by expurgatory indexes and licensing. All the con-

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sequences of this tyranny, as depriving men of their natural liberty, stifling their parts, introducing of ignorance, ingrossing all advantages to one party, and the like, were perpetually objected before the civil wars by the *presbyterians* to the bishops; *but no sooner were they possess'd of the bishops pulpits and power, than they exercis'd the same authority with more intolerable rigor and severity.* MILTON, after shewing the origin, progress, and mischief of this custom, proves first that we must not read the Bible, the fathers, nor almost any sort of books, if we regard the reasons usually alleg'd to forbid the publishing of others, such as the fear of wresting or mistaking their meaning. Secondly, that the ends propos'd cannot be attain'd after this manner. And, Thirdly, that no man is fit to be a licenser, not in any one single faculty, unless he is universally learn'd, or a better scholar than all the authors whose labors he's to license: and that, granting these things possible (tho they are not so) he could neither find strength nor time enough for perusing all books; and should he use deputies, he's likeliest to have ignorant, lazy, and mercenary fellows. Then displaying the discouragement that must follow hence to all literature and new discoveries (with the danger of suppressing truth, and propagating error, as it happens in popish countries, and the not reprinting of antient authors in any language) he proves licensing to be both unjust in it self, and dishonorable to a free government. " To include  
" the whole nation, says he, and those that never  
" yet thus offended, under such a diffident and  
" suspicious prohibition, what a disparagement it is  
" may



“ may be plainly understood. So much the more,  
“ since debtors and delinquents may walk abroad  
“ without a keeper, but inoffensive books must not  
“ stir forth without a visible jailor in their title.  
“ Nor is it to the common people less than a re-  
“ proach ; for if we be so jealous over them, as  
“ that we dare not trust them with an *English*  
“ pamphlet, what do we but censure them for a  
“ giddy, vitious, and ungrounded people, in such  
“ a sick and weak state of faith and discretion, as  
“ to be able to take nothing but thro the glister-  
“ pipe of a licenser ? That this is any care or love  
“ of them, we cannot pretend, since in those  
“ *popish* places, where the laity are most hated and  
“ despis’d, the same strictness is us’d over them.  
“ Wisdom we cannot call it, because it stops but  
“ one breach of license ; nor that neither, seeing  
“ those corruptions, which it seeks to prevent,  
“ break in faster at other doors which cannot be  
“ shut. And it reflects on the reputation of our  
“ ministers also, of whose labors we should hope  
“ better, and of the proficiency which their flocks  
“ reap by them, than that after all this light of the  
“ gospel which is, and is to be, and after all this  
“ continual preaching, they should be still fre-  
“ quented with such an unprincipled, unedify’d,  
“ and laic rabble, as that the whif of every new  
“ pamphlet should stagger them out of their cate-  
“ chism. This may have much reason to dis-  
“ courage the ministers, when such a low conceit  
“ is had of all their exhortations and the benefiting  
“ of their hearers, that they are not thought fit to  
“ be turn’d loose to three sheets of paper without

“ a licenser.” In another place he says, “ A man  
“ may be a heretic in the truth : and if he believes  
“ only because his pastor says so, or the assembly  
“ so determines, without knowing any other rea-  
“ son ; tho his belief be true, yet the very truth  
“ he holds becomes his heresy. There is not any  
“ burden that som would gladlier put off to ano-  
“ ther, than the charge and care of their religion.  
“ Who knows not that there be som protestants  
“ who live in as arrant an implicit faith as any  
“ lay-papist of *Loretto* ? A wealthy man, addicted  
“ to his pleasures and his profit, finds religion to  
“ be a traffic so intangl’d, and of so many pidling  
“ accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot indure  
“ to keep a stock going upon that trade. What  
“ dos he therefore, but resolves to give over toiling,  
“ and to find out som factor, to whose care and  
“ credit he may commit the whole management of  
“ his religious affairs ; and that must be som divine  
“ of note and estimation. To him he adheres,  
“ resigns the whole warehouse of his religion, with  
“ all the locks and keys, into his custody ; and  
“ indeed makes the very person of that man his  
“ religion, esteems his associating with him a suffi-  
“ cient evidence and commendation of his own  
“ piety. So that a man may say his religion is  
“ now no more within himself, but is becom a  
“ dividual movable, and gos and coms near him  
“ according as that good man frequents the house.  
“ He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him,  
“ lodges him ; his religion coms home at night,  
“ prays, is liberally sup’d, and sumtuously laid  
“ asleep ; rises, is saluted, and (after the malmsey,  
“ or

“ or som well spic’d brewage, and better break-  
 “ fasted than he whose morning-appetit would  
 “ have gladly fed on green figs between *Bethany*  
 “ and *Jerusalem*) his religion walks abroad at  
 “ eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the  
 “ shop trading all day without his religion.  
 “ Another sort there be, who, when they hear  
 “ that all things shall be order’d, all things  
 “ regulated and settled, nothing written but what  
 “ passes thro the customhouse of certain publicans  
 “ that have the tunnaging and poundaging of all  
 “ freespoken truth, will straight give themselves  
 “ up into your hands, make ’em and cut ’em out  
 “ what religion you please; there be delights,  
 “ there be recreations, and jolly pastimes that will  
 “ fetch the day about from sun to sun, and rock  
 “ the tedious year as in a delightful dream. What  
 “ need they torture their heads with that which  
 “ others have taken so strictly and so unalterably  
 “ into their own purveying? These are the fruits  
 “ which a dull ease and cessation of our knowlege  
 “ will bring forth among the people. Nor much  
 “ better will be the consequence among the clergy  
 “ themselves. It is no new thing never heard of  
 “ before for a parochial minister, who has his re-  
 “ ward, and is at his *HERCULES* pillars in a warm  
 “ benefice, to be easily inclinable (if he has no-  
 “ thing else that may rouse up his studies) to finish  
 “ his circuit in an *English* concordance, and a topic  
 “ folio, the gatherings and sayings of a sober gra-  
 “ duatship, a harmony and a catena, treading the  
 “ constant round of certain common doctrinal  
 E 3 “ heads.



" heads, attended with their uses, motives, marks  
 " and means ; out of which, as out of an alpha-  
 " bet or *sol fa mi*, by forming and transforming,  
 " joining and disjoining variously a little bookcraft,  
 " and two hours meditation, he might furnish  
 " himself unspeakably to the performance of more  
 " than a weekly charge of sermoneing ; not to  
 " reckon up the infinit helps of interlinearies,  
 " breviaries, synopses, and other loitering gear.  
 " But, as for the multitude of sermons already  
 " printed on every text that is not difficult, he  
 " need never fear penury of pulpit provision ; yet  
 " if his rear and flanks be not impal'd, if his  
 " backdoor be not secur'd by the rigid licenser,  
 " but that a bold book may now and then issue  
 " forth and give the assault to som of his old col-  
 " lections in their trenches, it will concern him  
 " to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good  
 " guards and sentinels about his receiv'd opinions,  
 " to walk the round and counterround with his  
 " fellow-inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock  
 " be seduc'd, who also then would be better  
 " instructed, better exercis'd and disciplin'd. And  
 " God send that the fear of this diligence, which  
 " must then be us'd, do not make us affect the  
 " laziness of a licensing church." Such was the  
 effect of our author's *Areopagitica*, that the following  
 year MABOT, a licenser \*, offer'd reasons against  
 licensing ;

\* GILBERT MABBOT continued in his office till May 22, 1649.  
 when, as Mr. WHITELOCKE observes, " upon his desire, and  
 " reasons against licensing of books to be printed, he was dis-  
 " charged

licensing; and, at his own request, was discharg'd that office. And certainly there's nothing deserves

"charged of that employment." And we find a particular account of the affair in a weekly paper, printed in 4to, and intitled, *A perfect diurnall of some passages in parliament, &c.* from Munday, May 21, to Munday, May 28, 1649.... in which, under Tuesday, May 22, we read as follows :

"Mr. MABBOT hath long desired several members of the House, and lately the Councell of State, to move the House, that he might be discharged of licencing books for the future upon the reasons following, viz.

"1. Because many thousand of scandalous and malignant pamphlets have been published with his name thereunto, as if he had licensed the same (though he never saw them) on purpose (as he conceives) to prejudice him in his reputation amongst the honest party of this nation.

"2. Because that employment (as he conceives) is unjust and illegall, as to the ends of its first institution, viz. to stop the presse from publishing any thing, that might discover the corruption of Church and State in the time of popery, episcopacy, and tyranny, the better to keep the people in ignorance, and carry on their popish, factious, and tyrannical designs, for the enslaving and destruction both of the bodies and souls of all the free people of this nation.

"3. Because licencing is as great a monopoly as ever was in this nation, in that all mens judgments, reasons, &c. are to be bound up in the licensers (as to licensing;) for if the author of any sheete, booke, or treatise, wrote not to please the fancy, and come within the compasse of the licensers judgment, then hee is not to receive any stamp of authority for publishing thereof.

"4. Because it is lawfull (in his judgment) to print any booke, sheete, &c. without licensing, so as the authors and printers do subscribe their true names thereunto, that so they may be liable to answer the contents thereof; and if they offend therein, then to be punished by such lawes, as are, or shall be, for those cases provided. A committee of the Councell of State being satisfied with these and other reasons of M. MABBOT concerning licensing, the Councell of State reports to the House; upon which the House ordered this day, that the said M. MABBOT should be discharged of licensing books for the future."

Dr. BIRCH's *Life of MILTON*, p. xxx.

more wonder, than that any wise people should suffer a small number of injudicious fellows, always ready to suppress whatever is not relish'd by their own sect or the magistrat, to be the sole masters and judges of what should or should not be printed; that is, of what the nation is to know, speak, or understand: *and I need not hesitate to affirm that such a power in the hands of any prince (the licensers being always his creatures) is more dangerous even than a standing army to civil liberty; nor in point of religion is it inferior to the inquisition.*

BUT to return to his privat affairs, lest he might seem by his several treatises of divorce not to act from an intire conviction, but out of sudden resentment, or to shew his parts in maintaining a paradox, he was seriously treating a marriage with a young lady of great wit and beauty, when one day as he was at a relations house whom he often visited, he was extremely surpriz'd to find his wife (whom he thought never to have seen more) acknowledging her fault at his feet, and begging forgiveness with tears. At first he seem'd inexorable, but his own generosity, and the intercession of friends, soon procur'd a perfect reconciliation, with an act of oblivion for all that was past. The first fruit of her return was a girl, born within a year after: And so far was he from remembering former provocations, that the kings interest in every place visibly declining, he receiv'd his wives father and mother, several of her sisters and brothers into his own house, where they had protection and free entertainment till their affairs were in a better condition. And now both his own father dying,  
and



and his wives relations returning to their several habitations, he reviv'd his academic institution of som young gentlemen, with a design, perhaps, of putting in practice the model of education lately publish'd by himself. Yet this course was of no long continuance; for he was to be made adjutant general to Sir WILLIAM WALLER, but that the new modelling of the army soon following, and Sir WILLIAM turning cat in pan, this design was frustrated.

A LITTLE after FAIRFAX and CROMWEL had march'd thro the city with the whole army to quell the insurrection of BROWN and MASSY, now grown discontented likewise with the parliament, our author chang'd his great house for one more accommodated to his circumstances, where in the midst of all the noise and confusion of arms, he led a quiet and privat life, wholly delighted with the muses, and prosecuting his indefatigable search after useful and solid knowlege.

HAVING occasionally mention'd that great man general FAIRFAX, I shall subjoin here, because it is not printed among his other poems, a sonnet our author sent him.

FAIRFAX, whose name in arms thro *Europe* rings,  
 And fills all mouths with envy or with praise,  
 And all her jealous monarchs with amaze,  
 And rumors loud which daunt remotest things :  
 Thy firm unshaken valor ever brings  
 Victory home, while new rebellions raise  
 Their *Hydra* heads, and the false *North* displays  
 Her broken league to imp her serpent wings.

O yet

O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand :

For what can war but acts of war still breed,  
Till injur'd truth from violence be freed,  
And public faith be rescu'd from the brand  
Of public fraud ? In vain dos valor bleed,  
While avarice and rapine share the land.

The following lines, never likewise publish'd among his poems, he wrote to Sir HENRY VANE the younger.

VANE, young in years, but in sage counsils old,  
Than whom a better senator ne'er held  
The helm of *Rome* (when gowns, not arms repel'd  
The fierce *Epirot*, and the *African* bold)  
Whether to settle peace, or to unfold  
The drift of hollow states hard to be spel'd.  
Then, to advise how war may best b'upheld,  
Man'd by her two main nerves, iron and gold,  
In all her equipage : Besides to know  
Both spiritual and civil, what each means,  
What serves each thou hast learn'd, which few  
have don.  
The bounds of either sword to thee we own,  
Therefore on thy right hand religion leans,  
And reckons thee in chief her eldest son.

BUT after CHARLES the first (sometime before judg'd an enemy by the parliament) was made a prisoner by their victorious army, afterwards judicially try'd and condemn'd, and the form of the government was chang'd into a democracy or free state, the *presbyterian* ministers, who from the beginning were the king's mortal enemies, but now inrag'd

inrag'd that the *independents* and other sects should enjoy either liberty or life (not angry at the fact but the faction) did tragically declame in their pulpits, that the king's usage was very hard, that his person was sacred and inviolable, and that any violence offer'd to him in the field (much less by the hands of an executioner) was contrary to the doctrin of the reform'd churches. This oblig'd MILTON in the year 49 to write his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrats*, wherein he labors to prove that it is not only in it self a most equitable thing, but that it has also bin so esteem'd by the free and considering part of mankind in all ages, that such as had the power might call a tyrant to account for his mal-administration, and after due conviction to depose or put him to death, according to the nature of his crimes: And further shews, that if the ordinary magistrats of any nation refuse to do 'em this justice, that then the duty of selfpreservation, and the good of the whole (which is the supreme law) impowers the people to deliver themselves from slavery by the safest and most effectual methods they can. As for the *presbyterians*, who were then grown so tender of majesty (and that only because they could not, absolutely and exclusively of others, govern all mens persons and consciences) he evidently shews that they were the most zealous to take arms against the king, to devest and disanoint him of his dignity, nay to curse him in all their sermons and pamphlets over the kingdom (wherof there remain numerous monuments still to be produc'd) that, in a word, after they had join'd with others to a degree from which men of honor or prudence could not retreat, they



they were louder than the *cavaliers* themselves to cry disloyalty and treason. After proving at large that they broke their allegiance to him, obey'd another authority, and had often given commission to slay where they knew his person could not be exempt from danger; and where, if chance or flight had not sav'd him like others, he must be infallibly kil'd; he shews how ridiculously it became them to pretend a tenderness for his person or character; whereas indeed it was neither persuasion nor remorse, but their aversion to civil and religious liberty that hurry'd 'em to these extremes. But because I hope the bulk of those now cal'd *presbyterians* in *England*, som few leading men excepted, are no such enemies to a toleration, and that they understand no more of the consistorian, classical, or synodical judicatories, than they allow of the inquisition or hierarchy, I shall in this place, to disabuse 'em, and to let 'em see how much better others foresaw their fate than passion would suffer themselves at that time, insert the following passage. " As for the  
 " party cal'd *presbyterian*, says MILTON, of whom  
 " I believe very many to be good and faithful  
 " Christians, tho misled by som of turbulent spirit,  
 " I wish them earnestly and calmly not to fall off  
 " from their principles, nor to affect rigor and  
 " superiority over men not under them; not to  
 " compel unforcible things in religion especially,  
 " which if not voluntary, becoms a sin; nor to  
 " assist the clamor and malicious drifts of those  
 " whom they themselves have judg'd to be the  
 " worst of men, the obdurat enemies of God and  
 " his church: nor to dart against the actions of  
 " their

“ their brethren, for want of other argument,  
“ those wrested laws and scriptures thrown by pre-  
“ lats and malignants against their own sides,  
“ which tho they hurt not otherwise, yet taken up  
“ by them to the condemnation of their own do-  
“ ings, give scandal to all men, and discover in  
“ themselves either extreme passion or apostacy.  
“ Let them not oppose their best friends and asso-  
“ ciats who molest 'em not at all, infringe not the  
“ least of their liberties, unless they call it their  
“ liberty to bind other mens consciences, but are  
“ still seeking to live at peace with them, and bro-  
“ therly accord. Let them beware an old and per-  
“ fect enemy, who tho he hopes by sowing discord  
“ to make them his instruments, yet cannot for-  
“ bear a minute the open threatning of his destin'd  
“ revenge upon them, when they have serv'd his  
“ purposes. Let them fear, therefore, if they be  
“ wise, rather what they have don already, than  
“ what remains to do; and be warn'd in time that  
“ they put no confidence in princes whom they  
“ have provok'd, lest they be added to the exam-  
“ ples of those that miserably have tasted of the  
“ event.—I have something also to the divines,  
“ tho brief to what were needful, not to be distur-  
“ bers of the civil affairs, being in hands better  
“ able, and to whom it more belongs to manage  
“ them; but to study harder, and to attend the  
“ office of good pastors, not perform'd by mount-  
“ ing twice into the chair with a formal preachment,  
“ huddled up at the odd hours of a whole lazy  
“ week, but by incessant pains and watch-  
“ ing—which if they well consider'd, how little  
“ leisure

“leisure would they find to be the most pragma-  
 “tical sidersmen of every popular tumult and sedi-  
 “tion? And all this while they are to learn what  
 “the true end and reason is of the gospel which  
 “they teach, and what a world it differs from the  
 “censorious and supercilious lording over con-  
 “science. It would be good also they liv'd so as  
 “might persuade the people they hated covetous-  
 “ness, which, worse than heresy, is idolatry ;  
 “hated pluralities and all kind of simony ; left  
 “rambling from benefice to benefice, like raven-  
 “ous wolves seeking where they may devour the  
 “biggest. Let them be sorry that, being cal'd to  
 “assemble about reforming the church, they fell  
 “to propping and soliciting the parliament (tho  
 “they had renounc'd the name of priests) for a  
 “new settling of their tithes and oblations, and  
 “doublelin'd themselves with spiritual places of  
 “commodity beyond the possible discharge of their  
 “duty. Let them assemble in consistory with  
 “their elders and deacons to the preserving of  
 “church-disciplin each in his several charge, and  
 “not a pack of clergymen by themselves to belly-  
 “cheer in their presumptuous *Sion* ; or to promote  
 “designs to abuse and gull the simple laity, to  
 “stir up tumults, as the prelats did before them,  
 “for the maintenance of their pride and avarice.”

On this occasion I must remark, that by reason of  
 the *presbyterians* warmly joining with others the last  
 parliament to promote penal laws against the *Soci-  
 nians*, I find few people will believe that those in  
*England* differ from their brethren in *Scotland* about  
 persecution, nor that their own sufferings of late  
 have



have made 'em more tender to the consciences of others. This naturally leads men to think that they have not repented of their rigor in the civil wars ; and that should the dissenters once more get the secular sword into their hands, they would press uniformity of sentiments in religion as far as any other protestants or papists ever yet have don : witness their inhuman treatment of DANIEL WILLIAMS (a sober man and a judicious divine) for no cause that I can discern, but that he made Christianity plainer than som of his colleagues in the ministry, and that, it may be, he takes a greater latitude than such as thro their ignorance cannot, or will not from design. But what renders them most suspected of affecting dominion, is the project of a comprehension now on foot, wherof som men of figure among 'em seem to be so fond, wherby the rest are easily deceiv'd, and like to be left in the lurch by certain persons who for several years past made the hierarchy and liturgy such strange bugbears : tho if the church will please to become a kind mother to themselves, and shew a little complaisance for their old friends, they are ready to pronounce her orders, her prayers, and her ceremonies to be very innocent and harmless things ; but mistaken formerly for the pillars of antichrist, the symbols of idolatry, the dregs of popery, the rags of superstition, and protestant paint to hide the deformities of the old *Babylonish* whore. And after all, whatever ours may be, comprehension in all other places of the world has never bin any thing else but the combination of a few parties to fortify themselves, and to oppress all others by their united force,

force, or by an absolute exclusion from preferment and other advantages to which by nature or personal merit they had an equal claim with the rest of their fellow citizens. Tho to be persecuted in their turn is the just judgment of God upon persecutors, yet vengeance must be left to heaven: and the wishes of all good men are, that the national church, being secur'd in her worship and emoluments, may not be allow'd to force others to her communion; and that all dissenters from it, being secur'd in their liberty of conscience, may not be permitted to meddle with the riches or power of the national church.

AFTER these things our author thinking to have leisure enough for such an undertaking, apply'd himself intirely to the history of the *English* nation, which he intended from the remotest traditional beginning to continue down to his own time, and had already finish'd four books of the same, when neither courting nor expecting any such preferment, he was taken into the service of the new commonwealth. Hitherto he gratuitously lent his country the aid of his pen, content with the esteem of good men, and the internal satisfaction of having perform'd his duty; while others that deserv'd it not so well, were variously rewarded, som with riches, som with honors, and all with liberty. But the publication of the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrats* reviving the fame of his other books, and as well shewing the excellency of his stile and capacity, as his affection to the good old cause, he was made secretary to the council of state for all foren affairs: *for the republic scorn'd to acknowledge that sort of tribute*

bute to any prince in the world, which is now paid to the French king, of managing their matters only in his language; and took up a noble resolution \* to which they firmly adber'd, that they would neither write to others, nor receive their answers, except in the Latin tongue, as being common to them all, and the properest in it self to contain great things, or the subject of future pens. But this proceeding could not be acceptable to those whose transactions were asham'd or afraid to see the light, and whose names will not be transmitted to posterity, unless for dextrously cheating their own people, and laying the springs of their tyranny or neglect in the dark, tho the effects are sufficiently felt by their deluded subjects, and the injustice visibly expos'd to all discerning eys. None could be found more fitted for such a post than MILTON, who quickly gain'd no less reputation to himself than credit to the state that imploy'd so able a person †. Of this the letters he wrote under that and the succeeding administrations (for he serv'd OLIVER, RICHARD, and the Rump) are abundant evidence, being for different reasons admir'd by critics and statesmen, as they are certain and authentic materials for such as may hereafter write the history of those times.

\* It would have been well, if succeeding princes had followed their example; for in the opinion of very wise men, the universality of the French language will make way for the universality of the French monarchy.

Dr. NEWTON's Life of MILTON.

† It is said, that at the restoration an offer was made to MILTON, of holding the same place of secretary under the king, which he had discharged with so much integrity and ability under the commonwealth, and under CROMWELL; but he persisted in refusing it, though his wife pressed his compliance: "Thou art in the right, says he; you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man."



BUT it was not only in foren dispatches that the government made use of his pen ; for just after the king's death appear'd a book under his name, intitl'd *Eikon Basilike*, wherein he vindicats himself in so many distinct chapters from the chief heads of those tyrannies charg'd upon him by the people, either as occasions of the civil war, or as inhumanities committed during the same. This piece, like CESAR's last will, doing more execution upon the enemy than its author when alive, MILTON was commanded to prevent by an answer \* those ill effects the *Eikon Basilike* might produce. Having undertaken this task, he observes that kings indeed have gain'd glorious titles from their flatterers or

\* It was first printed at *London*, in 1649, in quarto, under the following title : " EIKONOKΛΑΣΤΗΣ, in answer to a book intitled ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ, the portraiture of his sacred majesty in his solitudes and sufferings. The author J. M. published by authority." In 1650 it was printed a second time, *with many enlargements*. And in 1652 there was a *French* translation printed at *London* in 12°. " par GUILL. DU GARD, imprimeur du conseil d'Etat ;" from which the following extract is copied. " Avertissement au Lecteur." " Le Lecteur est prié de remarquer, avant que d'entrer en la lecture du présent Traité, que le Traducteur a été obligé par plusieurs considérations, mais principalement, à cause de l'élégance du stile & du langage de l'Auteur & de ses conceptions, de s'attacher entièrement à ses paroles & expressions, autant que la langue Françoisse l'a pu permettre, de peur de perdre la grace, qui se trouve en l'Original. Ce qui est cause qu'il se pourra trouver, peut être, en cette version quelques Anglicismes, ou façons de parler Angloises, ou moins Françoises, bien qu'il ait tâché de les éviter avec autant de soin, qu'il en a eu de ne perdre rien du sens & des belles expressions del'Auteur. Il espère que le Lecteur sera plus curieux de la substance, que des accidens, et que le corps lui plaira davantage, que le vêtement ; vû qu'en matière de telle conséquence, et en chose, qui ne sert pas peu à justifier les procédures d'un Etat, tel que celui d'Angleterre, en un si grand et si notable changement, les frases et les termes ne doivent pas être recherchés, à l'égal des choses, qu'ils signifient."

favorers

favorers for writing against privat men, as our HENRY the eighth was stil'd *defender of the faith* for ingaging LUTHER; yet that no man can expect much honor by writing against a king, as not usually meeting with that force of argument in such courtly antagonists, which to confute might add to his fame.

"Kings, says he, tho strong in legions, are most  
 "commonly but weak at arguments; as they who  
 "ever have accustom'd from the cradle to use  
 "their will only as their right hand, their reason  
 "always as their left: whence unexpectedly con-  
 "strain'd to that kind of combat, they prove but  
 "weak and puny adversaries. Nevertheless, con-  
 "tinues he, for their sakes, who thro custom, sim-  
 "plicity, or want of better teaching have not  
 "more seriously consider'd kings than in the gaudy  
 "name of majesty, and admire them and their  
 "doings, as if they breath'd not the same breath  
 "with other mortal men, I shall make no scruple  
 "to take up this gauntlet, tho a kings, in the be-  
 "half of liberty and the commonwealth." Having  
 thus accepted the challenge, he fairly measures wea-  
 pons, and answers all the allegations of that book  
 beyond the possibility of a reply. But every chapter  
 of it ending with devotion, model'd into the form  
 of a privat Psalter, he once for all gives his judg-  
 ment of it in these words. "They, who so much  
 "admire the archbishops late Breviary, and many  
 "other as good manuals and handmaids of devo-  
 "tion, the lipwork of every prelatical liturgist,  
 "clapt this together, and quilted it out of scripture  
 "phrase, with as much ease, and as little need of  
 "Christian diligence or judgment, as belongs to

“ the compiling of any ordinary and salable piece  
 “ of *English* divinity that the shops value. But he  
 “ who from such a kind of psalmistry, or any other  
 “ verbal devotion, without the pledg and earnest  
 “ of futable deeds, can be persuaded of a zeal and  
 “ true righteousness in the person, has much yet to  
 “ learn; and knows not that the deepest policy of  
 “ a tyrant has bin ever to counterfeit religion:  
 “ and ARISTOTLE in his Politics has mention'd  
 “ that special craft among twelve other tyrannical  
 “ sophisms. Neither want we examples. AN-  
 “ DRONICUS COMNENUS the *Byzantin* emperor,  
 “ tho a most cruel tyrant, is reported by NICETAS  
 “ to have bin a constant reader of St. PAUL's  
 “ Epistles; and by continual study had so incor-  
 “ porated the phrase and stile of that apostle into  
 “ all his familiar letters, that the imitation seem'd  
 “ to vy with the original.” Then having instanced  
 our RICHARD the third, to whom he might have  
 added TARQUIN who built the stately temple of  
 JUPITER CAPITOLINUS, and the *Russian* BASILO-  
 WITZ that pray'd seven times a day, he discovers a  
 piece of royal plagiarism, or (to be more charitable)  
 of his chaplains priestcraft; for one of king  
 CHARLES's prayers, stil'd a *prayer in the time of*  
*captivity*, deliver'd by himself to Dr. JUXON, and  
 twice printed among his works in folio, is plainly  
 stolen and taken without any considerable variation  
 from the mouth of PAMELA, an imaginary lady,  
 to a heathen deity in Sir PHILIP SIDNEY's *Arcadia*.  
 This has bin mention'd by others after MILTON,  
 and those prayers laid parallel together on divers oc-  
 casions. One of MILTON's sagacity could not but  
 perceive



perceive by the composition, stile, and timing of this book, that it was rather the production of some idle clergyman, than the work of a distressed prince, either in perpetual hurry at the head of a flying army, or remov'd from one prison to another during his unfortunat captivity till his death. Besides the theological phrases frequently interspers'd, there are such fanciful allusions and bold comments in it upon the secret judgments of God, as smell rankly of a system or the pulpit. When he mentions the fate of the HOTHAMS, by whom he was repuls'd at Hull, he says of the father, *That his head was divided from his body, because his heart was divided from the king: and that two heads were cut off in one family for affronting the head of the commonwealth; the eldest son being infected with the sin of the father, against the father of his country.* These and such arguments drawn only from the book it self, without any further light, induc'd a great many at that time to suspect the imposture; and that because CROMWEL got such a reputation among the people for his suppos'd piety, the royalists would represent the king to be a wiser man and better Christian. But in the year 1686 Mr. MILLINGTON happening to sell the late lord ANGLESEY's library by auction, put up an *Eikon Basilike*; and a few bidding very low for it, he had leisure to turn over the leaves, when to his great surprize he perceiv'd written with the same noble lords own hand, the following memorandum.

*KING CHARLES the second, and the duke of York, did both (in the last sessions of parliament, 1675. when I shew'd them in the lords house the written copy of this book, wherein are som corrections and alterations written with the late king CHARLES the first's own hand) assure me, that this was none of the said king's compiling, but made by Dr. GAUDEN bishop of Exeter : which I here insert for the undeceiving of others in this point, by attesting so much under my own hand.*

ANGLESEY.

This occasion'd the world to talk; and several knowing the relation which the late Dr. ANTHONY WALKER an *Essex* divine had to bishop GAUDEN, they inquir'd of him what he knew concerning this subject, which he then verbally communicated to them : but being afterwards highly provok'd by Dr. HOLLINGWORTH's harsh and injurious reflections, he was oblig'd in his own defence to print an account of that book, wherein are sufficient answers to all the scruples or objections that can be made, and wherof I here insert an exact epitome. He tells us in the first place that Dr. GAUDEN was pleas'd to acquaint him with the whole design, and shew'd him the heads of divers chapters, with  
som

from others that were quite finish'd : and that Dr. GAUDEN asking his opinion of the thing, and he declaring his dissatisfaction that the world should be so impos'd upon, GAUDEN bid him look on the title, which was *the king's portraiture* ; for that no man is suppos'd to draw his own picture. *A very nice evasion!* He further acquaints us, that some time after this being both in *London*, and having din'd together, Dr. GAUDEN took him along with him to Dr. DUPPA the bishop of *Salisbury* (whom he made also privy to his design) to fetch what papers he had left before for his perusal, or to shew him what he had since written : and that upon their return from that place, after GAUDEN and DUPPA were a while in privat together, the former told him the bishop of *Salisbury* wish'd he had thought upon two other heads, the ordinance against the Common Prayer Book, and the denying his majesty the attendance of his chaplains ; but that DUPPA desir'd him to finish the rest, and he would take upon him to write two chapters on those subjects, which accordingly he did. The reason, it seems, why Dr. GAUDEN himself would not perform this, was, first, that during the troubles he had forborn the use of the liturgy, *which he did not extraordinarily admire* ; and secondly, that he had never bin the king's chaplain, whereas Dr. DUPPA was both his chaplain, his tutor, and a bishop, which made him more concern'd about these particulars. Thirdly, Dr. WALKER informs us that Dr. GAUDEN told him he had sent a copy of *Eikon Basilike* by the marquiss of *Hartford* to the king in the *Ile of Wight* ; where it was, we may



be sure, that he made those corrections and alterations with his own pen, mention'd in my lord ANGLESEY's memorandum: and which gave occasion to som then about him that had accidentally seen, or to whom he had shown the book, to believe the whole was his own. Fourthly, Dr. GAUDEN, after the restoration, told Dr. WALKER, that the duke of *York* knew of his being the real author, and had own'd it to be a great service; in consideration of which, it may be, the bishoprick of *Winchester*, tho he was afterwards put off with that of *Worcester*, was promis'd him. And, notwithstanding it was then a secret, we now know that in expectation of this translation, the great house on *Clapham* common was built indeed in the name of his brother Sir DENIS, but really to be a mansionhouse for the bishops of *Winchester*. Fifthly, Dr. WALKER says, that Mr. GAUDEN, the doctor's son, his wife, himself, and Mr. GIFFORD who transcrib'd it, did believe it as firmly as any fact don in the place where they were; and that in that family they always spoke of it among themselves (whether in Dr. GAUDEN's presence or absence) as undoubtedly written by him, which he never contradicted. We learn, sixthly, that Dr. GAUDEN, after part of it was printed, gave to Dr. WALKER with his own hand what was last sent to *London*; and after shewing him what it was, seal'd it, giving him cautionary directions how to deliver it, which he did on *Saturday* the 23d of *December*, 1648. for Mr. ROYSTON the printer, to Mr. PEACOCK brother to Dr. GAUDEN's steward, who, after the impression was finish'd, gave him, for his trouble, six books,

books, wherof he always kept one by him. To these particulars Dr. WALKER adds, that the reason why the covenant is more favorably mention'd in *Eikon Basilike*, than the king or any other of his party would do, was because Dr. GAUDEN himself had taken it: That in the devotional part of this book there occur several expressions which were habitual to Dr. GAUDEN in his prayers, which always in privat and public were conceiv'd or extemporary: and that to his knowlege it was Dr. GAUDEN, being best acquainted with the beauty of his own sayings, who made that collection of sentences out of *Eikon Basilike*, intitul'd, *Apophthegmata Caroliniana*. These and som observations about the same individual persons variation of stile on different subjects, with the facility and frequency of personating others, may be further consider'd in Dr. WALKER's original account. In this condition stood the reputation of this book, till the last and finishing discovery of the imposture was made after this manner. Mr. ARTHUR NORTH, a merchant now living on *Towerbil, London*, a man of good credit, and a member of the church of *England*, marry'd the sister of her that was wife to the doctor's son CHARLES GAUDEN, who dying left som papers with his widow, among which Mr. NORTH, being concern'd about his sister in law's affairs, found a whole bundle relating to *Eikon Basilike*: These papers old Mrs. GAUDEN left to her darling son JOHN, and he to his brother CHARLES. There is first a letter from secretary NICHOLAS to Dr. GAUDEN. 2. The copy of a letter from bishop GAUDEN to chancellor HYDE, where,

where, among his other deserts, he pleads that what was don like a king, should have a kinglike retribution ; and that his design in it was to comfort and incourage the king's friends, to expose his enemies, and to convert, &c. There is, 3. The copy of a letter from the bishop to the duke of York, wherein he strongly urges his services. 4. A letter under chancellor HYDE's own hand, dated the 13th of *March*, 1661. wherein he expresses his uneasiness under the bishop's importunity, and excuses his inability yet to serve him : but towards the conclusion it contains these remarkable words ; *The particular you mention has indeed bin imparted to me as a secret ; I am sorry I ever knew it : and when it ceases to be a secret, it will please none but Mr. MILTON.* There are other papers in this bundle, but particularly a long narrative of Mrs. GAUDEN's own writing, irrefragably shewing her husband to be author of *Eikon Basilike*. It intirely confirms Dr. WALKER's account, and contains most of the facts we have hitherto related, with many other curious circumstances too long to be here inserted, yet too extraordinary not to be known ; wherefore I refer the reader to the original paper, or to the faithful extract made out of it before several learned and worthy persons, and which is printed in a paper intitul'd, *Truth brought to light.* *Thus came all the world to be convinc'd of this notorious imposture ; which as it was dexterously contriv'd, and most cunningly improv'd by a party whose interest oblig'd 'em to keep the secret, so it happen'd to be discover'd by very nice and unforeseen accidents.* Had not GAUDEN bin disappointed of *Winchester*, he had never



never pleaded his merit in this affair; nor would his wife have written her narrative, had king CHARLES the second bestow'd one half years rent on her after her husband's decease, which upon her petition, and considering her numerous family, none could imagin should be refus'd. It was a slighter accident that begot a confession from two kings, and CHARLES's own sons: and I doubt if any other than one of Mr. MILLINGTON's great curiosity, and no bigotry, had the disposal of my lord ANGLESEY's books, we should never have heard of the *memorandum*. Had not HOLLINGWORTH's indiscrete zeal provok'd the only man then alive who had any personal knowlege of this business, Dr. WALKER had never publish'd his account; nor could the whole discovery be so complete, without the least intricacy or question, without Mr. NORTH's papers. *When I seriously consider how all this happen'd among our selves within the compass of forty years, in a time of great learning and politeness, when both parties so narrowly watch'd over one another's actions, and what a great revolution in civil and religious affairs was partly occasion'd by the credit of that book, I cease to wonder any longer how so many supposititious pieces under the name of CHRIST, his apostles, and other great persons, should be publish'd and approv'd in those primitive times, when it was of so much importance to have 'em believ'd; when the cheats were too many on all sides for them to reproach one another, which yet they often did when commerce was not near so general as now, and the whole earth intirely overspread with the darkness of superstition. I doubt rather the spuriousness of several more such books is yet undiscover'd,*

undiscover'd, thro the remoteness of those ages, the death of the persons concern'd, and the decay of other monuments which might give us true information; especially when we consider how dangerous it was always for the weaker side to lay open the tricks of their adversaries, tho never so gross: and that the prevailing party did strictly order all those books which offended them to be burnt, or otherwise suppress, which was accordingly perform'd, as well in obedience to the laws by som, as out of conscientious obligations by others, which made the execution more effectual than usually happens in cases of an ordinary nature. Of this we are furnish'd with numberless examples by church-historians, who have preserv'd intire several of the laws and orders enacted to this purpose. From these general remarks I must observe in particular, that 'tis likely when CHARLES the second knew the forgery of this book, he was fully confirm'd in the popish religion, which in his childhood he learnt of his mother, and in his exile by his foren conversation. The author of *Eikon Basilike* desires him to adhere to the church of *England*, as necessary both for his soul's peace, and that of the kingdom. This and the like exhortations of respect for the liturgy and clergy, might shew, at least, the judgment of his dying father; but from Dr. GAUDEN it was mere interest and imposture. CHARLES therefore, who knew MORLEY, DUPPA, and others, to approve of this fraud to which they were privy, and for whose advantage the belief of it was serviceable, must either suspect the forgeries laid by ptotestants to the charge of popery, when he actually knew the protestants to play the same game:

or

or not being able to deny the popish cheats, 'tis most probable the opinion which his intimat friends had of him was too true, that he was really of neither church, but believed the pretences of both to be credulity or craft; and that the transactions of his last minutes were only the effects of a weak mind in a distemper'd body.

MILTON wrote also in the year 48. *Observations* upon the representation of the presbytery of *Belfast* in *Ireland*, concerning the king's death, the breaking of the covenant, and the toleration of different persuasions, to which these priestlings, as he calls them, were mortal enemies; while they call'd their own presbyterian government the hedg and bulwark of religion, which is exactly the language of the popish inquisition. In the same *Observations* he examines the duke of *Ormond's* letter to colonel JONES governor of *Dublin*, persuading him to revolt from the parliament. MILTON is very angry that ORMOND made a contemptuous mention of general CROMWEL, "who, according to him, had  
 " don in a few years more eminent and remarkable  
 " deeds, wheron to found nobility in his house,  
 " tho it were wanting, and perpetual renown to  
 " posterity, than ORMOND and all his ancestors put  
 " together could shew from any record of their  
 " *Irish* exploits, the widest scene of their glory." But his chieffest remarks are upon the articles of peace \* which ORMOND *concluded in the king's*  
*name,*

\* It is evident, that he plaid fast and loose on all hands as best suited with his necessary affairs and worke (as he calls it,) all his ends tending to this only center, to gaine the Irish Rebels to his assistance against the Parliament at any rate, though to the prophanation



name, and by his authority, with the popish Irish rebels, wherein they are pardon'd for the massacre and depredation

phanation of Religion, and his breach of faith with God and man, as instantly you may see fearfully protested, at the receiving the Sacrament at *Christ-Church* in *Oxford* 1643, at the hands of the archbishop of *Armagh*, where, immediately before his communicating (he beckoning to the archbishop for a short forbearance) used these following expressions, viz. *My Lord, I espie here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make; I have to the utmost of my power prepared my soule to become a worthy receiver, and may I so receive comfort by the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true reformed Religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy dayes of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance at Popery; I blesse God, that in the midst of these publique distractions, I have still liberty to communicate, and may this Sacrament be MY DAMNATION if my heart joyne not with my lips in this protestation.*

The Life and Reigne of King Charles, or the Pseudo-Martyr discovered. With a late Reply to an Invektive Remonstrance against the Parliament and present Government: Together with some Animadversions on the strange contrariety between the late King's publick Declarations, Protestations, Imprecations, and his Pourtraicture, compared with his private Letters, and other of his Expresses not hitherto taken into common observation. London, 1651. in duodecimo, p. 199, 200.

But the most remarkable letter of the King to him was written wholly in cypher on the 20th of *July* the same year, which is inserted in *Latin* in the *Nuncio's Memoirs*, and in *Italian* in *Vittorio Siri's Mercurio*. "*Glamorgan*, I am not so strictly guarded, but  
" that if you send to me a prudent and secret person, I can receive a letter, and you may signify to me your mind, I having  
" always loved your person and conversation, which I ardently wish  
" for at present more than ever, if it could be had without prejudice to you, whose safety is as dear to me as my own. If  
" you can raise a large sum of money by pawning my kingdoms for  
" that purpose, I am content you should do it; and if I recover  
" them, I will fully repay that money. And tell the *Nuncio*,  
" that if once I can come into his and your hands, which ought to  
" be extremely wished for by you both, as well for the sake of *England*  
" as *Ireland*, since all the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it.  
" And if I do not say this from my heart, or if in any future time I  
" fail you in this, may God never restore me to my kingdoms in this  
" world,

depredation of the English protestants; acknowledg'd to be dutiful and loyal subjects; are discharg'd from taking the oath of supremacy, principally fram'd on the account of papists: and, in a word, such freedoms and privileges were granted to those inhuman butchers, as were never enjoy'd by their English conquerors. The second article impowers the *Irish* parliament to repeal or suspend (as they think fit) POYNING's act, the only security of their dependence on *England*. They are intrusted by him with the militia; and so indulgent was he to these his choice favorites, as ridiculously to promise them the repealing of those acts which prohibited their plowing with horses by the tail, or burning oats in the straw, marks of their sottish and indocil barbarity.

" world, nor give me eternal happiness in the next, to which I hope  
 " this tribulation will conduct me at last, after I have satisfied my obligations to my friends, to none of whom am I so much obliged as to yourself, whose merits towards me exceed all expressions, that can be used by Your constant Friend,  
 " Charles R. From Newcastle, July 20, 1646." A copy of this letter was soon after the receipt of it, sent from *Ireland* to the Pope, who received great comfort from the reading of it; but at the same time shed tears of compassion for the King's circumstances, as the Dean of *Fermo* wrote four days after his arrival at *Rome*, viz. Nov. 8th. to the Cavalier *Rinuccini*, the Nuncio's brother, at *Florence*, to whom he inclosed a copy of that letter.

Inquiry into the share, which King Charles I. had in the transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan. edit. 2. p. 244, 245, 246.

Besides to shew his respect unto them; I know he obliterated with his owne hands the word *Irish Rebels*, and put in *Irish Subjects*, in a manuscript discourse, writ by Sr. Edward Walker, and presented unto him, which I have seen, of the *Irish* rebellion, &c.

Lilly's Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles. London, 1651, in quarto, p. 105.

AND

AND now we com to his master piece, his chief and favorit work in prose, for argument the noblest, as being the defence of a whole free nation, the people of *England*; for stile and disposition the most eloquent and elaborat, equalling the old *Romans* in the purity of their own language, and their highest notions of liberty; as universally spread over the learned world as any of their compositions; and certain to endure while oratory, politics, or history bear any esteem among men. *It cannot be deny'd*, says that excellent critic *monsieur BAILE*, *that MILTON's Latin stile is easy, brisk, and elegant; nor that he defended the republican cause with a world of address and wit*: agreeable to which judgment is the unanimous suffrage of foreners, not excepting the most zealous assertors of monarchy. It was written upon this occasion. CHARLES eldest son to the king of the same name living in exile, and wanting som body to paint the death of his father in the blackest colors, either to render the authors of it odious, the better to bring about his own return; or, if that effect did not answer, to move the compassion of foren potentats to procure his restoration, was told of SALMASIUS a professor of the univerfity of *Leyden* in *Holland*, as the fittest person for his purpose. This man had got such a mighty name from his *Plinian exercitations*, and his critical notes on several *Latin* and *Greec* authors, that none was thought so knowing to equal, or so hardy to incounter him. This man therfore CHARLES the second hir'd for a hundred *Jacobusses* to write that bulky volume, which in the year 49 appear'd under the title of *Defensio Regia*, or a defence



fence of CHARLES the first to CHARLES the second. SALMASIUS being better vers'd in the writings of grammarians and lexicographers (which sort of men were his chief admirers) than in those of legislators and politicians, gave a true demonstration that mere scholars, when they meddle with any thing that requires reasoning or thought, are but mere asses : for being wholly occupy'd about frivolous etymologies, or the bare sound of words, and living most of their time excluded from conversation, bury'd in dust among worms and mouldy records, they have no exact knowlege of things, and are perfect strangers to all the useful business of the world. Accordingly the royal defence was destitute of eloquence or art, being nothing else but a huge heap of rubbish, consisting of injudicious quotations, very disorderly piec'd together, seldom making for his purpose ; and, when they seem'd to favor him, quite spoil'd again by his own impertinent comments. But what's worse than all the rest, he appear'd on this occasion such an absolute stranger and bungler in his own province, as to open a large field for MILTON to divert himself with his barbarous phrases and solecisms. Nor had he more wit likewise than to publish his *Defence* of monarchy in *Holland*, at the same time that he had a pension from that free state, and was actually entertain'd in their service ; for tho the *Dutch* were then no good friends to the *English*, being jealous of their growing power, yet they could not be pleas'd with any writing oppos'd to the common cause of liberty, and accordingly they blam'd SALMASIUS, and order'd the *Defence* to be suppress'd. No sooner

did this book appear in *England*, but MILTON being then present, was unanimously nam'd by every member of the council of state to answer it; so good an opinion they had of his capacity, neither did he fail their expectations: for within a very short time he publish'd his *Defensio pro populo Anglicano*, or the defence of the people of *England*; wherein, to speak no more of his admirable stile than we have don already, nor of his handsomly exposing the ignorance or fury of SALMASIUS, he defended the proceedings of the people of *England* from the beginning of the civil war to that time, with such force of arguments and authority of examples, that since there could be no dispute about the victory he obtain'd over his adversary, the only doubt remaining with his readers was, which should be counted superior, his own great reading, politeness, or judgment. The subject is too nice for me to make any extract of it according to the method I observ'd in som of his other books; and besides, it deserves so much to be consider'd at length in the original, or in the *English* version by Mr. WASHINGTON of the *Temple*, that I will not deprive any body of that pleasure. It's true indeed, that som have blam'd MILTON for his rough usage of SALMASIUS, nor herein will I pretend wholly to excuse him: but when I consider how basely the whole *English* nation was abus'd by SALMASIUS, as so many barbarians or enthusiasts, fiercer than their own mastifs and yet sillier than *Athenian* owls\*, it gos a great way with me towards

MILTON'S

\* B. — — — *Nec alia fere bellorum omnium causa praetenditur*  
inter

MILTON's justification ; and if we add to this, that he speaks not in his own person, but as the mouth of a potent state traduc'd by a pitiful professor, there be those in the world that will positively commend him. Two passages only I shall insert here

*inter nationes, populos, et Reges, quam injuriae, de quibus cum judicio non potest decerni, ferro cernitur.* M. Adversus hostes quidem ob istas causas bella geri solent : cum regibus alia ratio est, quibus jurejurando sanctissimo interposito ad parendum sumus obstricti. B. Obstricti quidem sumus. *Sed illi contra priores promittunt se ex aequo et bono jus dicturos.* M. Ita res habet. B. Mutua igitur regi cum civibus est pactio. M. Ita videtur. B. Qui prior a conventis recedit, contraque quam pactus est facit, nonne is pacta et conventa solvit. M. Solvit. B. Soluta igitur vinculo, quod regem cum populo continebat, quicquid juris ex pactione ad eum, qui pacta solvit pertinebat, id reor amittitur. M. Amittitur. B. Is etiam cum quo erat conventum aequae sit atque ante stipulationem erat liber. M. Eodem plane jure, atque eadem libertate ? B. Rex autem si facit, quae sunt solvendae societati humanae, cujus continendae causa fuit creatus, quid eum vocamus ? M. Tyrannum opinor. B. Tyrannus autem non modo non justum habet imperium in populum, sed etiam populi hostis est. M. Hostis profecto. B. Cum hoste, ob graves et intolerabiles injurias est justum bellum. M. Justum sane. B. Quid in eo, quod cum totius humani generis hoste, hoc est tyranno geritur ? M. Justissimum. B. Bello autem cum hoste justa de causa semel suscepto jus est non modo universo populo, sed singulis etiam hostem interimere. M. Fateor. B. Quid tyrannum hostem publicum, quocumque omnibus bonis perpetuum est bellum ? nonne singuli e tota generis humani multitudine jure omnes bellorum paenas ab eo expetere possunt. M. Video nationes fere omnes in ea fuisse sententia. Nam et Thebe laudari solet, quod matrem, et Timoleon, quod fratrem, et Cassius quod filium interfecerit : et Fulvius, quod filium ad Catilinam proficiscentem, et Brutus, quod filios, et propinquos, cum reducendi tyranni consilia eos reseisset inisse, necaverit : et publice praemia erant tyrannicidis, et honores a multis Graeciae civitatibus institute adeo (quod ante dictum est) nullum ne humanitatis quidem vinculum cum tyrannis esse existimabant. Sed quid singulorum assensum colligo ? cum possum universi prope orbis testimonium proferre ?

De jure regni apud Scotos, dialogus, Authore Georgio Buchananano Scoto. Edinburgi, A. D. 1579. Cum privilegio regali.



out of his book ; wherof the first shall be an epigram he made to ridicule his adversary for meddling with affairs to which he was a stranger, having all his intelligence from inrag'd and partial exiles ; but particularly for his mistaking of *English* names, and his mentioning of the county court, and hundred.

*Quis expedit Salmasio suam Hundredam ?  
Picamque docuit verba nostra conari ?  
Magister artis venter, & Jacobæi  
Centum, exulantis viscera marsupii regis.  
Quod si dolosi spes refulserit nummi,  
Ipse, anticristi modo qui primatum papæ  
Minatus uno est dissipare sufflatu,  
Cantabit ultro Cardinalitium Melos.*

*English'd.*

Who taught SALMASIUS, that *French* chattering py,  
To aim at *English*, and *Hundreda* cry ?  
The starving rascal, flusht with just a hundred  
*English* *Jacobusses*, *Hundreda* blunder'd ;  
An outlaw'd king's last stock. A hundred more  
Would make him pimp for th'antichristian whore ;  
And in *Rome's* praise imploy his poison'd breath,  
Who threaten'd once to stink the pope to death.

In these verses he reflects on SALMASIUS for declaring himself against any sort of hierarchy in his book *De primatu papæ*, and yet being a mighty stickler for bishops in his defence of the king. The other passage shall be the epilogue or conclusion of MILTON's book. “ And now I think, says he, that  
“ by God's assistance I have finish'd the work I  
“ under-

“ undertook, namely to defend the noble actions  
“ of my countrymen at home and abroad against  
“ the raging and envious madness of this distracted  
“ sophister; and to assert the common rights of  
“ the people against the unjust domination of  
“ kings, not out of any hatred to kings, but  
“ tyrants: nor have I purposely left unanswer’d  
“ any one argument alleg’d by my adversary, nor  
“ any example or authority quoted by him, that  
“ seem’d to have any force in it, or the least color  
“ of a proof; perhaps I have bin guilty rather of  
“ the other extreme, of replying to som of his  
“ fooleries and trifles as if they were solid argu-  
“ ments, and therby may seem to have attributed  
“ more to them than they deserv’d. One thing  
“ yet remains to be don, which perhaps is of the  
“ greatest concern of all, and that is, That you  
“ my countrymen confute this adversary of yours  
“ your selves; which I do not see any other means  
“ of your effecting than by a constant indeavor to  
“ outdo all mens bad words by your own good  
“ deeds. When you labor’d under more sorts of  
“ oppression than one, you betook your selves to  
“ God for refuge, and he was graciously pleas’d to  
“ hear your most earnest prayers and desires. He  
“ gloriously deliver’d you, the first of nations,  
“ from the two greatest mischiefs of this life, and  
“ the most pernicious to virtue, tyranny and super-  
“ stition; he indu’d you with that greatness of  
“ soul to be the first of mankind, who, after hav-  
“ ing conquer’d and captivated their own king,  
“ have not scrupl’d to condemn him judicially,  
“ and according to that just sentence, to put him

“ to death. After performing so illustrious an  
“ action as this, you ought to do nothing that’s  
“ mean and little, not even to think, much less  
“ to do any thing but what is great and sublime.  
“ To attain which praise there is only this way,  
“ that as you have subdu’d your enemies in the  
“ field, so to make it appear that unarm’d and in  
“ full peace you of all mankind are ablest to con-  
“ quer ambition, avarice, the love of riches, and  
“ can best avoid those corruptions of prosperity  
“ which are apt to get the better of other nations;  
“ to shew as great justice, temperance, and mo-  
“ deration, in preserving your liberty, as you have  
“ don courage in freeing your selves from slavery.  
“ These are the only arguments and authorities by  
“ which you will be able to evince that you are not  
“ such persons as this fellow represents you, trai-  
“ tors, robbers, murderers, parricides, madmen;  
“ that you did not put your king to death out of  
“ any ambitious design, or a desire of invading  
“ the rights of others, not out of any seditious  
“ principles or sinister ends, not agitated by fury  
“ or madness; but that it was wholly out of love  
“ to your liberty, religion, justice, virtue, and in-  
“ flam’d with an affection for your country, that  
“ you punish’d a tyrant. But if it should happen  
“ otherwise (which I pray God mercifully to for-  
“ bid) if as you have bin valiant in war, you  
“ should grow debauch’d in peace, you that have  
“ had such visible demonstrations of the goodness  
“ of God to your selves, and his wrath against  
“ your enemies, and that you should not learn by  
“ so eminent and memorable an example before  
“ your



“ your eyes, to fear God and work righteousness,  
 “ for my part, I shall easily grant and confess (for  
 “ I cannot deny it) all the ill that liars and slan-  
 “ derers now think or speak of you to be true.  
 “ And you will find in a little time that God’s dis-  
 “ pleasure against you will be greater than it has  
 “ bin against your adversaries, greater than his  
 “ benign favor and paternal care which you have  
 “ experienc’d above all the nations under heaven.”

MILTON was rewarded with *a thousand pounds* for  
 this performance ; and how differently his defence  
 of the people, and that of SALMASIUS for the  
 king were entertain’d by the curious, we may learn  
 from the mouth of him that next appear’d for  
 the royal cause. “ What the most accomplish’d  
 “ SALMASIUS, says he, has discretely written in  
 “ defence of the right and honor of CHARLES the  
 “ *British* monarch, murder’d by wicked men, has  
 “ born but one impression, and saw the light with  
 “ great difficulty ; with so much hatred dos the  
 “ world persecute truth in these latter times : but  
 “ of what the most execrable MILTON has spite-  
 “ fully elaborated to ruin the reputation of the  
 “ deceas’d king, and to destroy the hereditary suc-  
 “ cession of the crown, there are so many editions,  
 “ that I am uncertain to which of them I should  
 “ refer my reader ; so passionatly fond are men  
 “ grown now of lies and calumnies !” On this  
 book our author did not think it worth his while  
 to animadvert, but delegated that easy task to his  
 younger nephew JOHN PHILIPS, now alive, who  
 soon wrote a sufficient answer to bishop BRAMHAL ;  
 for so this new antagonist was suppos’d to be call’d.

SALMASIUS made a huge figure at this time in the *Swedish* court, whither queen CHRISTINA invited all the men of letters in *Europe*, so that her whole train was compos'd in a manner of grammarians, rhetoricians, philosophers, astrologers, and critics : nor was her administration unanswerable to her attendants ; for besides a total neglect of good laws for the public benefit, and her imprudent preferring of strangers before the natives of the country, she led a mere romantic life, sometimes frolicsously disguising her self in mens clothes, and then gravely disputing with her doctors, till at last she was forc'd to a shameful abdication of the government ; and the end of all her learning was to turn papist for a pension from the pope, or to have an old meager frier to pardon her sins, and a brawny cardinal for her stallion. Now no sooner had the defence of the *English* nation reach'd *Sweden*, and was read to the queen at her own desire, but SALMASIUS, who till then had bin as it were her prime minister, and who, when he first saw the book, foolishly swore he would destroy MILTON and the whole parliament, decreas'd so much in her esteem, and dwindled to such a degree in the opinion of all others, that he thought it not for his interest to continue longer there, and was dismiss'd with extraordinary coldness and contempt. And not expecting to be better receiv'd in *Holland*, or any where else, he left an imperfect posthumous reply, and had recourse to death, the last refuge of the miserable, and the safest shelter to cover them from infamy and disgrace. MILTON, on the other hand, was, on the first appearance of his book,

visited

visited or invited by all the ambassadors at *London*, not excepting those of crown'd heads, and particularly esteem'd by ADRIAN PAW the ambassador of the flourishing republic of *Holland*. His book indeed was burnt at *Paris*, not by order of the parliament, but, at the instigation of the priests, by the lieutenant civil, and likewise at *Thoulouse*, which serv'd only to procure it more readers : for he was highly extol'd at the same time, or complemented by letters from the most ingenious persons in *Germany* or *France* ; and, as if the old *Grecian* republics had reviv'd to decree the accustom'd honors to the assertors of liberty, LEONARDUS PHILARAS, an *Athenian* born, and ambassador from the duke of *Parma* to the *French* king, wrote a fine commendation of his defence, and sent him his picture, together with a personal elogium. From these undeniable matters of fact (without deciding the merit of the cause on either side) it is plain that in the judgment of all *Europe*, MILTON got infinitely the better of SALMASIUS ; for it could not be partiality to a free government, but the resistless light of truth, that obtain'd such a confession from the ministers or subjects of absolute princes.

Now he had some leisure again to follow his other studies of a more delightful and peaceable nature than these controversies, and had also a son born to him, who dy'd in his infancy. In the year 52, he remov'd for his health from his lodgings at *Whitehal* to a house opening into St. JAMES's park, which shall be the scene of all his actions till the restoration of the royal family. In this place his first wife dying in childbed, he, after a convenient space,



space, marry'd a second, CATHARINE the daughter of captain WOODCOCK of *Hackny*, who within a year dy'd also in the same condition, and was about a month after follow'd by her child, which was a girl. His sight was quite gon before this match; for by reason of his continual studies, and the head-ach to which he was subject from his youth, his eys were decaying for a dozen years before: but we shall have an occasion by and by to give a further account of this matter.

THE same year appear'd a bitter invective from abroad against the parlamentarians. The title of it was, \* *The Cry of the King's Blood for Vengeance to Heaven against the English parricides*. In this book MILTON is particularly traduc'd, and accus'd to have bin expel'd out of the university of *Cambridg* for som misdemeanors, wherupon he retir'd into *Italy*: but the falsity of this story is already prov'd. Several other frivolous things are laid to his charge, which he on the other hand denies; nor do his adversaries insift upon them in their answers: now there cannot be a clearer proof of his innocence, than that being accus'd he publicly denies the fact, and his enemies can't contradict him. But envy and malice often carry such as have got the worse to affirm most absurd and ridiculous things: So SALMASIUS in his dying reply foolishly reports that MILTON wrote not the defence himself, but lent his name to the hand of a little *French* school-master at *London*. But, as it always happens in such cases, he got nothing by this silly figment,

\* *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cœlum, &c.*

but gave MILTON an opportunity of making his own ability, and the weakness of SALMASIUS, further known to the world. Thus some people think to gratify an offended person with telling him a hundred ill-natur'd stories of his antagonist, to which his passion makes him give credit without due examination, and then becomes a fool by asserting them. The true author of the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis*, was PETER DU MOULIN the younger, a prebendary of *Canterbury*; but ALEXANDER MORUS a *French* minister being the publisher of it, and having prefix'd a dedication in the printer's name to CHARLES II. he was generally thought to be the writer of the whole. This MORUS was the son of a learned *Scot*, who was principal of the protestant college formerly at *Castres* in *Languedoc*. His insufferable haughtiness, immoderate inclination for women, and contempt of his colleagues, made him odious and uneasy wherever he liv'd. He was hasty, ambitious, satyrical, and could never commend any thing but his own works, or those of his admirers. He was cry'd up for a seraphic preacher; but, as BAILE judiciously says, his talent must have consisted in the gracefulness of his pronunciation and gesture, or in those flourishes and puns whereof his sermons are full: for 'tis certain that they retain not those charms now on paper which they were said to have formerly in the pulpit. Against him therefore MILTON by public command publishes a second defence for the people of *England*, which, besides what the title promises, contains a bloody satyr upon MORUS, nor does he deny himself to have bin the occasion of SALMASIUS's death. I shall

shall not rake into the ashes of the dead, but content my self with inserting here two pieces of MILTON's wit. The first is a distich made upon MORUS for getting PONTIA the maid of his friend SALMASIUS with child.

*Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori,  
Quis bene moratam, morigeramque neget ?*

The other shall be an epigram wherein MILTON laughs at MORUS for threatening him with a second edition of SALMASIUS's defence of the king, augmented with animadversions on his defence of the people.

*Gaudete scombri, & quicquid est piscium Salo,  
Qui frigida hyeme incolitis algentes freta,  
Vestrum misertus ille Salmasius eques  
Bonus amicire nuditatem cogitat ;  
Chartæque largus apparat papyrinos  
Vobis cucullos præferentes Claudii  
Insignia, nomenque, & decus Salmasii :  
Gestetis ut per omne cetarium forum  
Equitis clientes, scriniis mungentium  
Cubito virorum, & capsulis gratissimos.*

The author of the *Clamor Regii Sanguinis* having barbarously objected to MILTON his blindness, and that he was meager and pale, he gives him an answer in these words : " I was never counted de-  
" form'd, as I know, by any that ever saw me ;  
" but whether to be counted handsom or not is  
" none of my concern. My stature, I confess, is  
" not extraordinary tall, yet I am rather a middle-  
" siz'd than little man. But what if little I were ?  
" Have



“ Have not many persons eminent in the arts of  
“ war and peace bin so before me? tho I see no  
“ reason why that should be cal’d little which in  
“ courage is sufficiently great. Neither am I so  
“ slender; for I was strong and capable enough in  
“ my youth to handle my weapons, and to exercise  
“ daily fencing: so that wearing a sword by  
“ my side, as became a gentleman, I thought my  
“ self a match for those that were much stronger,  
“ and was not afraid of receiving an affront from  
“ any body. I have still the same soul and vigor,  
“ but not the same eys; yet to all outward appearance  
“ so sound, so clear, and free from the least spot,  
“ as theirs who see furthest: and herein only, in spite  
“ of my self, I am a deceiver. My countenance, than  
“ which he says there’s nothing paler, is still of a color  
“ so contrary to wan and bloodless, that tho I am  
“ above forty, any body would think me ten years  
“ younger, being neither contracted in body or skin.  
“ If in any of these particulars I told a ly, I should  
“ be deservedly ridiculous to many thousands of my  
“ own countrymen, and to several strangers that  
“ personally know me.” As for his blindness, he  
“ says that such a condition is not miserable, but  
“ not to be able to bear it; and then quotes the  
“ examples of valiant, learned, wise, and holy men  
“ of all times that have bin blind. But the loss of  
“ his eys being objected to him as an effect of divine  
“ vengeance, after solemnly protesting that he’s not  
“ conscious of any thing for which he should deserve  
“ that punishment more than other men, he adds,  
“ As for what I wrote at any time (since the  
“ royalists think I now suffer on that account, and  
“ triumph

“ triumph over me) I call God to witness that I  
 “ did not write any thing but what I then thought,  
 “ and am still persuaded to be right, and true, and  
 “ acceptable to God; not led by any sort of am-  
 “ bition, profit, or vainglory; but have don all  
 “ from a sense of duty and honor, or out of piety  
 “ to my country, and for the liberty of church  
 “ and state. On the contrary, when that task of  
 “ answering the king's defence was injoin'd me by  
 “ public authority, being both in an ill state of  
 “ health, and the sight of one ey almost gon  
 “ already, the physicians openly predicting the loss  
 “ of both if I undertook this labor; yet nothing  
 “ terrify'd by their premonition, I did not long  
 “ balance whether any duty should be prefer'd to  
 “ my eyes.” And what he really thought of his  
 blindness, and how he bore it, may be further per-  
 ceiv'd by this sonnet to his friend CYRIAC SKINNER,  
 never printed with his other poems.

CYRIAC, this three years day, these eys, tho clear  
 To outward view of blemish or of spot,  
 Bereft of sight, their seeing have forgot.  
 Nor to their idle orbs dos day appear,  
 Or sun, or moon, or star, throout the year;  
 Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not  
 Against heaven's hand, or will, nor bate one jot  
 Of heart or hope; but still bear up, and steer  
 Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask?  
 The conscience, friend, t'have lost them overply'd  
 In liberty's defence, my noble task,  
 Wherof all *Europe* rings from side to side.  
 This thought might lead me thro this world's vain  
 mask,  
 Content, tho blind, had I no other guide.

MORUS

MORUS publish'd his *Fides publica* in answer to MILTON's second defence, to which the latter oppos'd a \* *Defence of himself*; and by original letters, or the like authentic pieces, made good all his assertions against his adversary: wherupon MORUS, vanquish'd and baffled, quitted the field. Our author was now *Latin* secretary to the protector OLIVER CROMWEL, who, he confidently hop'd, would imploy his trust and power to extinguish the numerous factions of the state, and to settle such a perfect form of a free government, wherin no single person should enjoy any power above or beside the laws: but he particularly expected his establishing an impartial liberty of conscience, to which he encourages him by these lines, never printed among his poems.

† CROMWEL, our chief of men, that thro a croud  
Not of war only, but distractions rude,  
(Guided by faith and matchless fortitude)  
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plow'd,  
And fought God's battles, and his work pursu'd,  
While *Darwent* streams, with blood of *Scots* imbru'd,  
And *Dunbar* field resound thy praises loud,  
And *Worc'sters* laureat wreath. Yet much remains  
To conquer still; peace has her victories,  
No less than those of war. New foes arise  
Threatning to bind our souls in secular chains:  
Help us to save free conscience from the paw  
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

HE

\* *Defensio pro se.*

† The title of this sonnet, as it appears in MILTON's MS. in Trinity-College library, is as follows: "To the Lord General, CROMWELL: on the proposals of [certain] ministers at the  
" Committee



HE had leisure enough now from his imployment in the state (no adversary daring to appear any more) to

" Committee for propagation of the Gospell, in [May] 1651." MILTON's service under CROMWELL has been thought by many a great inconsistency with the zeal which he professed for liberty; since it is certain that CROMWELL's assuming the protectorship was a shocking usurpation over the rights and liberties of the nation, and rendered him detestable to almost all the republican party. But upon this head it may be alledged, that the office, which he held under the Protector, was not received from him, but had been enjoy'd by him under the Commonwealth, and was one that related to the public, more than to the private interests of CROMWELL, in whose confidence he does not appear to have been, during his whole government, there being no trace of his activity, in all the vast collection of secretary THURLOE's papers. He took the freedom likewise to give some excellent advice to that great man, against assuming an exorbitant authority, in his *Defensio secunda*, (p. 152, & seqq. edit. 1654.) in the following address to him.

" You have justly rejected the title of King; for if you, who, when a private person, was able to reduce it to nothing, should, now you are so highly advanced, be captivated with it, it would be exactly the same case, as if, after having, by the assistance of the true God, subdued an idolatrous nation, you should worship the deities which you had conquered. Consider often with yourself, that your Country has intrusted you with her dearest pledge, that of her Liberty. Regard the great expectations conceived of you; reflect that your Country's hope is intirely from you; regard the countenances and wounds of so many brave men, who, under your conduct, have fought for Liberty; regard the *manes* of those who have died in battle; regard what foreign nations may think and say of us, and the great things which they have promised themselves from our noble acquisition of Liberty, and our new Commonwealth so gloriously begun to be established, which, if it prove abortive, will be the greatest infamy to this nation; lastly, regard your own character, and never suffer that Liberty, for which you have passed through so many toils and dangers, to be violated by yourself, or in any measure lessened by others. You cannot be free yourself, unless we are free; for such is the necessary constitution of things, that whoever invades the liberty of others, first of all loses his own, and will be first sensible of his own being a slave. But if he, who has been the patron, and as it were tutelar deity of Liberty, and been esteemed a

" man

to pursue his *History of Britain*, and his new *Treasaurus Linguae Latinae* : but what took up most of his time was the epic poem he had so long design'd, and which is since printed under the title of *Paradise Lost*, wherof in due order. But the next book he publish'd was a *treatise*, dedicated to the parliament, of *Civil power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, shewing that it is not lawful for any power on earth to compel in matters of religion, whether speculative or practical ; or in any thing except immorality, or what evidently subverts the foundation of civil society : for which reason he justly excludes popery from this toleration, for being not so much a religion, as a politic faction, wherof the members, whersoever they are, own the pope for their superior, to the prejudice of the allegiance due to their natural soverains. Besides, that they never tolerat others where they have the mastery ; and that their doctrin of dispensations, or keeping no faith with such as they count heretics, renders 'em worse than atheists, and the declar'd enemies of all mankind \* besides those of their own communion.

AFTER this he addrest to the parliament *Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove hirelings out of the Church* ; not that he was against all sort of

“ man of the greatest sanctity and probity, should usurp over  
 “ that liberty which he has defended ; it will be a pernicious and  
 “ almost fatal wound, not only to his reputation, but even to  
 “ that of virtue and piety in general. Honesty and virtue will  
 “ seem to be lost ; religion will have little regard paid to it ; and  
 “ reputation will ever after be of small account ; than which no  
 “ greater misfortune can befall mankind.”

\* See, among numberless histories of Massacres committed by papists, a most curious “ history of the evangelical churches  
 “ of the vallies of Piemont ;” written by Samuel Morland, Esq ;  
 who went Commissioner from O. Cromwel for their relief. It  
 was published 1658, in folio.

maintenance for the public ministry of religion, which he acknowledges due by the light of reason, as well as the examples of all ages; but he proves that tithes were inconvenient, and not of divine right, which was then strongly asserted even by the *presbyterians* and *independents*. He observes, that two things do mainly corrupt religion, and hinder the advancement of truth, force on the one side restraining the professors, and hire on the other side corrupting the teachers of it. "The latter of these, says he, is by much the more dangerous: for under force, tho no thanks to the forcers, true religion oft times best thrives and flourishes; but the corruption of teachers, most commonly the effect of hire, is the very bane of truth in them who are so corrupted." There is much curious history in this book concerning church revenues, to which I refer those who have not read father PAUL of beneficiary matters, nor father SIMON who wrote after him. Speaking of the ministers, "They pretend, says he, that their education, either at school or the university, has bin very chargeable, and therefore ought to be repair'd afterwards by a fruitful maintenance: wheras it is well known that the better half of them (and oft times poor and pitiful boys, of no merit or promising hopes that might intitle them to the public provision, but their poverty and the unjust favor of friends) have had the most of their breeding, both at school and university, by scholarships, exhibitions, and fellowships, at the public cost, which might ingage them the rather to give freely as they



“ they freely receiv’d. Or if they have mist of  
 “ these helps at the latter place, they have after  
 “ two or three years left the course of their studies  
 “ there (if they ever well began them) and under-  
 “ taken, tho furnish’d with little else but ignorance,  
 “ boldness, and ambition, if with no worse vices,  
 “ a chaplainship in som gentleman’s house, to the  
 “ frequent imbasing of his sons with illiterat and  
 “ narrow principles. Or if they have liv’d there  
 “ upon their own, who knows not that seven years  
 “ charge of living there, to them who fly not  
 “ from the government of their parents to the  
 “ license of a university, but com seriously to study,  
 “ is no more than may be well defray’d and reim-  
 “ burst by one year’s revenue of an ordinary good  
 “ benefice ? If they had then means of breeding  
 “ from their parents, ’tis likely they have more  
 “ now ; and if they have, it must needs be me-  
 “ chanic and disingenuous in them to bring a bill  
 “ of charges for the learning those liberal arts and  
 “ sciences which they have learnt (if they have in-  
 “ deed learnt them, as they seldom have) to their  
 “ own benefit and accomplishment.” Towards  
 the conclusion he has these words : “ I have thus  
 “ at large examin’d the usual pretences of hirelings,  
 “ color’d over most commonly with the cause of  
 “ learning and universities ; as if with divines  
 “ learning stood and fell, wherein for the most part  
 “ their pittance is so small ; and, to speak freely,  
 “ it were much better there were not one divine in  
 “ the university, nor no school divinity known,  
 “ the idle sophistry of monks, the canker of reli-  
 “ gion ; and that they who intended to be minis-

“ ters, were train’d up in the church only by the  
“ scripture, and in the original languages therof at  
“ school, without fetching the compass of other  
“ arts and sciences more than what they can well  
“ learn at secondary leisure, and at home. Nei-  
“ ther speak I this in contempt of learning, or the  
“ ministry, but hating the common cheats of both;  
“ hating that they who have preach’d out bishops,  
“ prelates, and canonists, should, in what serves  
“ their own ends, retain their false opinions, their  
“ pharisaical leaven, their avarice, and closely their  
“ ambition, their pluralities, their non-residences,  
“ their odious fees, and use their legal and popish  
“ arguments for riches : That *independents* should  
“ take that name, and seek to be *dependents* on the  
“ magistrat for their maintenance ; which two  
“ things, *independence* and *statebire* in religion, can  
“ never consist long or certainly together. For  
“ magistrats at one time or other, not like these  
“ at present our patrons of Christian liberty, will  
“ pay none but such whom by their committees of  
“ examination they find conformable to their in-  
“ terest and opinions : and hirelings will soon  
“ frame themselves to that interest and those opi-  
“ nions which they see best pleasing to their pay-  
“ masters ; and, to seem right themselves, will  
“ force others as to the truth.” After proving the  
Christian religion not to be more difficult than any  
other art or science, nay, and that the knowledge  
of it may be much sooner attain’d ; “ We may  
“ conclude, says he, that if men be not all their  
“ lifetime under a teacher to learn logic, natural  
“ philosophy,

“ philosophy, ethics, or mathematics, which are  
 “ more difficult ; that certainly it is not necessary  
 “ to the attainment of Christian knowlege, that  
 “ men should sit all their life long at the feet of a  
 “ pulpited divine, while he, a lollard indeed over  
 “ his elbow cushion, in almost the seventh part of  
 “ forty or fifty years, teaches them scarce half the  
 “ principles of religion : and his sheep oft times  
 “ sit all the while to as little purpose of benefiting,  
 “ as the sheep in their pews at *Smithfield*, and for  
 “ the most part are by som simony or other bought  
 “ and sold like them ; or, if this comparison be  
 “ too low, like those women, mentioned by St.  
 “ PAUL, ever learning and never attaining ; yet  
 “ not so much thro their own fault, as thro the  
 “ unskilful and immethodical teaching of their  
 “ pastor, preaching here and there at random out  
 “ of this or that text, as his ease or fancy, and  
 “ oft times as his health guides him.”

CROMWEL being dead, RICHARD depos'd, and  
 the army having restor'd the old famous parlament,  
 but almost as soon dissolv'd it, MILTON wrote a  
 letter to som statesman, with whom he had a seri-  
 ous discourse about the lamentable confusions of  
 that time. It is in a very pathetic stile, and con-  
 tains a true representation of what the soldiers had  
 don : to whom he tells, *that it is scarce to be ex-*  
*ampl'd, even among barbarians, that an army duly*  
*paid should, for no cause at all, subdue the supreme*  
*power that set them up.* “ This, says he, other  
 “ nations will judg to the sad dishonor of that  
 “ army, lately renown'd for the civilest and best  
 “ order'd in the universe, and by us here at home



“ for the most conscientious.” Now, if an army \* deserving this character was capable of inflaming

\* Then the civil wars broke out between CHARLES and his people, in which many bloody battles were fought; two of the most considerable were those of *Newbury* and *Naseby*, both won by new soldiers, the first by the *London* militia, and the latter by an unexperienc'd army, which the king used to call in derision the *New Model*. And some years after, the battle of *Worcester* was in a great measure won by the country militia; for which CROMWEL discharged them with anger and contempt, as knowing them instruments unfit to promote his tyrannical designs. At last, by the fate of the war, the king became a prisoner, and the parliament treated with him while in that condition; and at the same time voted that some part of the army should be disbanded; and others sent to *Ireland* to reduce that kingdom; upon which the army chose agitators among themselves, who presented a petition to both houses, that they would proceed to settle the affairs of the kingdom, and declare that no part of the army should be disbanded till that was done. But finding their petition refused, they sent and seiz'd the king's person from the parliament's commissioners, drew up a charge of high treason against eleven principal members, for endeavouring to disband the army, entered into a private treaty with the king; but he not complying with their demands they seized *London*; and notwithstanding the parliament had voted the king's concessions a ground for a future settlement, they resolved to put him to death, and in order thereto purged the house, as they called it, that is, placed guards upon them, and excluded all members that were for agreeing with the king; and then they cut off his head.

After this they let the parliament govern for five years, who made their name famous thro' the whole earth, conquered their enemies in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; reduced the kingdom of *Portugal* to their own terms; recovered our reputation at sea; overcame the *Dutch* in several famous battles; secured our trade, and managed the public expences with so much frugality, that no estates were gained by private men upon the public miseries; and at last were passing an act for their own dissolution, and settling the nation in a free and impartial commonwealth; of which the army being afraid, thought it necessary to dissolve them, and accordingly CROMWEL next day called two files of musqueteers into the house, and pulled the speaker out of the chair, behaving himself like a madman, vilifying the members, and calling one a whoremaster, another a drunkard, bidding the  
soldiers

slaving their country, what may be expected from any other, as most are, of a worse disposition?

In

foldiers take away that fool's bauble the mace ; and so good night to the parliament.

When they had done this act of violence, the council of officers set up a new form of government, and chose a certain number of persons out of every county and city of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*: And these they invested with the supreme power, but soon after expelled them ; and then CROMWELL set up himself, and framed a new instrument of government, by a protector and a house of commons, in pursuance of which he called a parliament. But they not answering his expectations, he excluded all that would not subscribe his instrument ; and those that remained, not proving for his purpose neither, he dissolved them with a great deal of opprobrious language. He then divided *England* into several districts or divisions, and placed major generals or intendants over them, who governed like so many bashaws, decimating the cavaliers, and raising taxes at their pleasure. Then forsooth he had a mind to make himself king, and called another parliament to that purpose, after his usual manner secluding such members as he did not like. To this assembly he offered another instrument of government, which was by a representative of the people, a second house composed of seventy members in the nature of a house of lords, and a single person ; and left a blank for what name he should be called, which this worthy assembly filled up with that of king, addressed to CROMWELL that he would be pleas'd to accept it, and gave him power to nominate the members of the other house. This the great officers of the army resented, for it destroyed all their hopes of being tyrants in their turn, and therefore addressed the parliament against the power and government of a king, which made CROMWELL decline that title, and content himself with a greater power under the name of protector. Afterwards he nam'd the other house, as it was called, for the most part out of the officers of the army ; but even this parliament not pleasing him, he dissolved them in a fury, and governed the nation without any parliament at all till he died.

After his death the army set up his son RICHARD, who called a new parliament ; but their proceedings being not agreeable to the humour of the soldiery, they forced the protector to dissolve them ; then they deposed him, and took the power into their own hands ; but being unable to wield it, they restored the commonwealth, and soon after expelled them again, because

In this letter he delivers the model of a commonwealth; not such as he thought the best, but what might be readiest settled at that time to prevent the restitution of kingship and domestic disorders, till a more favorable season, or better dispositions for erecting a perfect democracy. This and another small piece to the same purpose, address I suppose to MONK, were communicated to me by a worthy friend, who a little after the author's death, had them from his nephew; and I imparted them to the publishers of the new edition of his works in folio.

His last piece before the restoration of the royal family, except the *brief notes* he publisht on Dr.

they would not settle the military sword independent of the civil; then they governed the nation by a council of war at *Wallingford* house, and chose a committee of safety for the executive part of the government; but that whim lasted but a little time before they chose conservators of liberty; and that not doing neither, they agreed that every regiment should choose two representatives, and this worthy council should settle the nation; when they met, sometimes they were for calling a new parliament, sometimes for restoring the old, which was at last done. By this means all things fell into confusion; which gave MONK an opportunity of marching into *England*. where he acted his part so dextrously, that he restored the king with part of that army which had cut off his father's head.

This is a true and lively example of a government with an army; an army that was raised in the cause, and for the sake of liberty; composed for the most part of men of religion and sobriety. If this army could commit such violences upon a parliament always successful, that had acquired so much reputation both at home and abroad, at a time when the whole people were trained in arms, and the pulse of the nation beat high for liberty; what are we to expect if in a future age an ambitious prince should arise with a dissolute and debauched army, a flattering clergy, a prostitute ministry, a bankrupt house of lords, pensioner house of commons, and a slavish and corrupted nation?

*Trenchard's History of Standing-Armies in England.*

GRIFFITH'S



GRIFFITH's sermon, was intitul'd, *The ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth, and the excellence thereof compar'd with the inconveniences and dangers of readmitting kingship in this nation* \*. This book appear'd in sixty, when he perceiv'd that noxious humor of returning to bondage, as he calls it, to prevail, which was instil'd by som deceivers, and nourisht by the bad principles or false apprehensions of the people. " If their absolute  
 " determination be to enthrall us, says he; before  
 " so long a *Lent* of servitude, they may permit us  
 " a little shroving time first, wherein to speak freely  
 " and take our leaves of liberty." He endeavors to set before the eys of the nation the folly and unreasonableness of all they had so valiantly don for several years, if they at last readmitted kingship; that they would be the shame of all free countrys, and the laughingstock of all monarchies. " Where  
 " is this goodly tower of a commonwealth, will  
 " foreners say, which the *English* boasted they  
 " would build to overshadow kings, and be another *Rome* in the west? The foundation indeed  
 " they laid gallantly, but fell into a worse confusion, not of tongues but of factions, than those  
 " at the tower of *Babel*, and have left no memorial  
 " of their work behind them remaining, but in  
 " the common laughter of *Europe*. Which must  
 " needs redound the more to our shame, if we  
 " but look on our neighbors the *United Provinces*,  
 " to us inferior in all outward advantages; who  
 " notwithstanding, in the midst of greater diffi-

\* There were two editions of this book, and TOLAND's quotations are from the first.

" culties,

“culties, courageously, wisely, constantly, went  
“thro with the same work, and are settled in all  
“the happy enjoyments of a potent and flourishing  
“republic to this day. Besides this, if we return  
“to kingship, and soon repent (as undoubtedly  
“we shall when we find the old incroachments  
“coming by little and little upon our consciences,  
“which must necessarily procede from king and  
“bishop united inseparably in one interest) we  
“may be forc’d perhaps to fight over again all  
“that we have fought.—A free commonwealth  
“was not only held by wisest men in all ages, the  
“noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest  
“government, the most agreeable to due liberty,  
“and proportion’d equality, both human, civil, and  
“Christian, most cherishing to virtue and true re-  
“ligion, but also plainly commended, or rather  
“injoin’d by our Savior himself to all Christians,  
“not without a remarkable disallowance, and the  
“brand of gentilism upon kingship. God in much  
“displeasure gave a king to the *Israelites*, and im-  
“puted it a sin to them that they sought one: but  
“CHRIST apparently forbids his disciples to admit  
“of any such heathenish government. *The kings*  
“*of the Gentils*, says he, *exercise lordship over*  
“*them, and they that exercise authority upon them*  
“*are cal’d benefactors: but you shall not do so, but*  
“*he that is greatest among you, let him be as the*  
“*younger; and he that is chief, as he that serves.*  
“The occasion of these words was the ambitious  
“desire of ZEBEDEES two sons to be exalted above  
“their brethren in the kingdom, which they  
“thought was to be e’er long upon earth. That  
“he

" he speaks of civil government is manifest by the  
 " former part of the comparison, which infers the  
 " other part to be always of the same kind. And  
 " what government comes nearer to this precept of  
 " CHRIST, than a free commonwealth? Wherin  
 " they who are greatest are perpetual servants and  
 " drudges to the public at their own cost and  
 " charges, neglecting their own affairs, yet are not  
 " elevated above their brethren, live soberly in their  
 " families, walk the streets as other men, may be  
 " spoken to freely, familiarly, without adoration.  
 " Whereas a king must be ador'd like a demigod,  
 " with a dissolute and haughty court about him,  
 " of vast expence and luxury, masks and revels,  
 " to the debauching of our prime gentry both  
 " male and female, not in their pastimes only, but  
 " in earnest by the loose employments of court  
 " service, which will be then thought honorable.  
 " There will be a queen of no less charge; in  
 " most likelihood outlandish and a papist, besides  
 " a queenmother such already, together with both  
 " their courts and numerous train. Then a royal  
 " issue, and e'er long severally their sumptuous  
 " courts, to the multiplying of a servil crew, not  
 " of servants only, but of nobility and gentry bred  
 " up then, not to the hopes of public, but of  
 " court offices; to be stewards, chamberlains,  
 " ushers, grooms, even of the closestool: and the  
 " lower their minds are debas'd with court opi-  
 " nions contrary to all virtue and reformation, the  
 " haughtier will be their pride and profuseness.  
 " As to the burden of expence, we shall soon  
 " know it to our cost; for any good to us, de-  
 " serving



" serving to be term'd no better than the vast and  
 " lavish price of our subjection and their de-  
 " bauchery, which we are now so greedily cheapen-  
 " ing, and would so fain be paying most inconfi-  
 " derately to a single person, who, for any thing  
 " wherein the public really needs him, will have  
 " little else to do but to bestow the eating and  
 " drinking of excessive dainties, to set a pompous  
 " face upon the superficial actings of the state, to  
 " pageant himself up and down in progress among  
 " the perpetual bowings and cringings of an ab-  
 " ject people, on either side deifying and adoring  
 " him for nothing don that can deserve it." In  
 this book he delivers the model of a common-  
 wealth, well suited perhaps to the circumstances of  
 that time, but inferior, in all respects, to HARRING-  
 TON'S *Oceana*, *which for the practicableness, equa-*  
*lity, and completeness of it, is the most perfect form of*  
*such a government that ever was delineated by any an-*  
*tient or modern pen.*

AND now, the king being ready to land, our  
 author was discharg'd from his office of *Latin* secre-  
 tary, and oblig'd for the safety of his person to  
 leave his house near St. JAMES'S park, *where for*  
*eight years before he was visited \** *by all foreners of*  
*note, by several persons of quality, and by the ingenious*  
*of every persuasion or party.* ANDREW MARVEL,

\* The late Reverend Mr. THOMAS BRADBURY, an eminent  
 dissenting minister, used to say, that JER. WHITE, who had been  
 Chaplain to OLIVER CROMWEL, and whom he personally  
 knew, had often told him, " That MILTON was allowed by the  
 Parliament a weekly table for the entertainment of foreign  
 ministers, and persons of learning, *such especially as came from Pro-*  
*testant states;* which allowance was also continued by CROMWEL,

*who*

who by his parts and probity made himself so much known since that time in England, us'd to frequent him the ofteneſt of any body; and whether it was he or MILTON (for both are nam'd for it) that made the verses sent with CROMWEL's picture to the queen of Sweden, I am uncertain: but whoever was the author, they deserve a room in this place.

CROMWEL speaks:

*Bellipotens virgo, septem regina trionum  
Christina, arctoi lucida stella poli;  
Cernis quas merui dura sub casside rugas,  
Utque senex armis impiger ora tero:  
Invia fatorum dum per vestigia nitor,  
Exequor & populi fortia jussa manu.  
Ast tibi submittit frontem reverentior umbra,  
Nec sunt hi vultus regibus usque truces.*

English'd.

Bright martial maid, queen of the frozen zone,  
The northern pole supports thy shining throne;  
Behold what furrows age and steel can plow,  
The helmet's weight oppress this wrinkled brow.  
Thro fate's untrodden paths I move, my hands  
Still act my freeborn peoples bold commands;  
Yet this stern shade to you submits his frowns,  
Nor are these looks always severe to crowns.

FROM the year 52 to that of 60 he corresponded much with learned foreners, as appears by his letters to MILLIUS, OLDENBURG, HEIMBACHIUS, DE BRASS, LEO AB AIZEMA, and EMERIC BIGOT.  
His

His admirer LEONARDUS PHILARAS coming upon  
 som occasions to *London*, went to see MILTON, who,  
 tho he could not see him again, was extremely  
 pleas'd with his conversation. He afterwards ac-  
 quainted MILTON by a letter, that there was a  
 physician who perform'd wonders on blind people  
 at *Paris*, and requests him to send in writing the  
 state and progress of his distemper, which to gra-  
 tify his friend our author perform'd, yet without  
 expressing any hopes of a cure. CYRIAC SKINNER  
 was one of his constant visitors, which honor he  
 not seldom receiv'd also from the pious and virtu-  
 ous lady RANELAGH, whose son, the present earl  
 of RANELAGH, he instructed for som time, and  
 sent him several letters of advice during his travels  
 abroad; but in one directed to him at the univer-  
 sity, he uses these words: "As for what you write  
 " to me, that you are so much pleas'd with *Oxford*,  
 " you cannot persuade me the more that you re-  
 " ceiv'd any improvement there, or art becom a  
 " bit the wiser, unless you shew me som other rea-  
 " sons for it. Those victories of princes which  
 " you extol, and such other things, wherein force  
 " has the greatest share, I would not have you too  
 " much admire, especially now being a hearer of  
 " philosophers: where's the wonder if in the coun-  
 " try of rams there grow strong horns, which are  
 " able to batter towns and cities with such vio-  
 " lence? But learn thou from thy childhood to  
 " discern and judg of great examples, not from  
 " violence and force, but by justice and tem-  
 " perance."

BUT,



BUT, as I said before, he was now oblig'd to abscond \* till the act of oblivion was publish'd, wherein

\* " By the King. A Proclamation for calling in, and suppressing of two books written by *John Milton*; the one intituled, *Johannis Miltoni, Angli, pro Populo Anglicano defensor, contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmafii Defensionem Regiam*; and the other in answer to a book intituled, *The Pourtraiture of his sacred Majesty in his solitude and sufferings*. And also a third book intituled, *The Obstructors of Justice*, written by *John Goodwin*. Charles R. Whereas *John Milton*, late of *Westminster*, in the county of *Middlesex*, hath published in print two several books: The one intituled, *Johannis Miltoni, Angli, pro populo Anglicano defensor, contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmafii, defensionem regiam*. And the other in answer to a book intituled, *The Pourtraiture of his sacred Majesty in his solitude and sufferings*. In both which are contained sundry treasonable passages against us and our government, and most impious endeavours to justifie the horrid and unmatched murder of our late Dear Father, of glorious memory. And whereas *John Goodwin*, late of *Coleman-Street*, *London*, clerk, hath also published in print, a book intituled, *The Obstructors of Justice*, written in defence [These however strange, are the very words] " of his said late Majesty. And whereas the said *John Milton* and *John Goodwin*, are both fled, or so obscure themselves, that no endeavours used for their apprehension can take effect, whereby they might be brought to legal tryal, and deservedly receive condigne punishment for their treasons and offences. Now to the end that our good subjects may not be corrupted in their judgments, with such wicked and traiterous principles, as are dispersed and scattered throughout the beforementioned books, We, upon the motion of the Commons in Parliament now assembled, doe hereby streightly charge and command, all and every person and persons whatsoever, who live in any city, Burrough, or Town incorporate, within this our Kingdom of *England*, the Dominion of *Wales*, and Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, in whose hands any of those books are, or hereafter shall be, that they, upon pain of our high displeasure, and the consequence thereof, do forthwith, upon publication of this our command, or within ten days immediately following, deliver, or cause the same to be delivered to the Mayor, Bayliffs, or other chief Officer or Magistrate, in any of the said Cities, Burroughs, or Towns incorporate, where such person or persons so live; or, if living

" our

wherin he and JOHN GOODWIN (the great spreader of *Arminianism*, and who in writing also justify'd the

“ out of any City, Burrough, or Town incorporate, then to  
 “ the next Justice of Peace adjoining to his or their dwelling or  
 “ place of abode ; or if living in either of our Universities, then  
 “ to the Vice-Chancellor of that University where he or they do  
 “ reside. And in default of such voluntary delivery, which we  
 “ do expect in observance of our said command, that then and  
 “ after the time before limited expired, the said chief magistrate  
 “ of all and every the said Cities, Burroughs, or Towns incor-  
 “ porate, The Justices of the peace in their severall counties,  
 “ and the Vice-Chancellors of our said universities respectively,  
 “ are hereby commanded to seize and take, all and every the  
 “ books aforesaid, in whose hands or possession soever they shall  
 “ be found, and certifie the names of the offenders unto our  
 “ privy council. And we do hereby also give special charge  
 “ and command to the said chief Magistrates, Justices of the  
 “ Peace, and Vice-Chancellors respectively, that they cause the  
 “ said books, which shall be so brought unto any of their hands,  
 “ or seized or taken as aforesaid, by vertue of this our proclama-  
 “ tion, to be delivered to the respective Sheriffs of those Counties  
 “ where they respectively live, the first and next Assizes that  
 “ shall after happen. And the said Sherives are hereby also re-  
 “ quired, in time of holding such Assizes, to cause the same to  
 “ be publickly burnt by the hand of the common hangman.  
 “ And we do further streightly charge and command, that no  
 “ man hereafter presume to print, vend, sell, or disperse any  
 “ the aforesaid books, upon pain of our heavy displeasure, and  
 “ of such further punishment, as for their presumption in that  
 “ behalf, may any way be inflicted upon them by the laws of  
 “ this realm. Given at our Court at *Whitehall* the 13th day of  
 “ *August*, in the twelfth year of our reign 1660.” Copied ver-  
 “ batim from the original.—The title of Goodwin's book is,  
 “ The obstructours of Justice, or a defence of the honourable  
 “ sentence passed upon the late King, by the High Court of  
 “ Justice.” London printed 1649, in quarto.

By the advice of some, who wished him well, and were concerned for his preservation, he fled for shelter to a friend's house in Bartholomew close, near West Smithfield, where he lay concealed till the worst of the storm was over. The first notice that we find taken of him was on Saturday June 16, 1660, when it was ordered by the House of Commons, that his Majesty should be humbly moved to issue his proclamation for the calling

the death of CHARLES the first) were only excepted from bearing any office in the nation. Our author had

in of Milton's two books, his Defence of the People, and Iconoclastes, and also Goodwin's book intituled "The Obstruction of Justice," written in justification of the murder of the late King, and to order them to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. At the same time it was ordered, that the Attorney General should procede by way of indictment or information against Milton and Goodwin in respect of their books, and that they themselves should be sent for in custody of the serjeant at arms attending the House. On Wednesday June 27, an order of Council was made agreeable to the order of the House of Commons for a proclamation against Milton's and Goodwin's books; and the proclamation was issued August 13 following, wherein it was said, that the authors had fled or did abscond. And on Munday August 27, Milton's and Goodwin's books were burnt according to the proclamation at the Old Baily by the hands of the common hangman. Wednesday August 29, the act of indemnity was passed, which proved more favorable to Milton than could well have been expected; for though John Goodwin, clerk, was excepted among the twenty persons, who were to have penalties inflicted upon them, not extending to life, yet Milton was not excepted at all, and consequently was included in the general pardon. We find indeed, that afterwards he was in custody of the serjeant at arms; but the time, when he was taken into custody, is not certain. He was not in custody September 12, for that day a list of the prisoners in custody of the serjeant at arms was read in the House, and Milton's name is not in it; and September 13 the House adjourned to Nov. 6. It is most probable therefore, that after the act of indemnity was passed, and after the House had adjourned, he came out of his concealment, and was afterwards taken into custody of the serjeant at arms by virtue of the former order of the House of Commons. But we cannot find that he was prosecuted by the Attorney General, nor was he continued in custody very long; for Saturday December 15, 1660, it was ordered by the House of Commons "that Mr. Milton, now in custody of the serjeant at arms attending this House, be forthwith released, paying his fees;" and on Munday December 17 a complaint being made "that the serjeant at arms had demanded excessive fees for the imprisonment of Mr. Milton," it was ordered, "That it be referred to the Committee for privileges and elections to examine this business, and to call Mr. Milton and the serjeant at arms before



had many good friends to intercede for him \* both in the privy council and in the house of commons; nor was CHARLES the second such an enemy to the muses as to require his destruction, *the son are of opinion that he was more oblig'd to that prince's forgetfulness than to his clemency* †.

As

“ before them, and to determine what is fit to be given to the  
“ serjeant for his fees in this case;” *so courageous was he at all times in defense of liberty against all the encroachments of power, and though a prisoner, would yet be treated like a freeborn Englishman.* This appears to be the matter of fact, as it may be collected partly from the journals of the House of Commons, and partly from Kennet's Historical Register. Newton's Life of Milton.

\* It is certain, there was not wanting powerfull intercession for him both in Council and in Parliament. It is said, that Secretary Morrice and Sir Thomas Clarges greatly favored him, and exerted their interest in his behalf; and *his old friend ANDREW MARVELL*, member of Parliament for Hull, *formed a considerable party for him in the House of Commons.* But the principal instrument in obtaining Milton's pardon was Sir William Davenant, out of gratitude for Milton having procured his release, when he was taken prisoner in 1660. It was life for life. Davenant had been saved by Milton's interest, and in return Milton was saved at Davenant's intercession. This story Mr. Richardson relates upon the authority of Mr. Pope; and Mr. Pope had it from Betterton the famous actor, who was first brought upon the stage and patronised by Sir William Davenant, and might therefore derive the knowledge of this transaction from the fountain. Newton's Life of Milton.

† “ That the King every day took less care of his affairs, and  
“ affected those pleasures most, which made him averse from the other;  
“ That he spent most of his time with confident young men, who  
“ abhorred all discourse that was serious, and, in the liberty they  
“ assumed in drollery and raillery, preserved no reverence towards  
“ God or man, but laughed at all sober men, and even at Religion  
“ itself; and that the Custom of this license, that did yet only  
“ make the King merry for the present, by degrees would  
“ grow acceptable to him; and that these men would by  
“ degrees have the presumption (which yet they had not,  
“ nor would he in truth then suffer it) to enter into his business,  
“ and by administering to those excesses to which his Nature and Consti-  
“ tution

As soon as his pardon was past the seals, he appear'd again, and marry'd his third wife ELIZABETH, the daughter of Mr. MINSHAL of *Cheshire*, recommended to him by his friend Dr. PAGET. He had no children by this last Wife, nor any living by his second; but of his three daughters by the first, he made two very serviceable to himself, and, in so doing, to the rest of the world. For tho many sent their sons to read for him, and several grown persons were ambitious of obliging him that way for their own improvement; yet he taught these young women to read and pronounce with great exactness the *English, Italian, Spanish, French, Hebrew, Grec, and Latin* languages. So that whatever book he had occasion to use, one of 'em was forc'd to read it to him, tho neither of 'em understood a word of those writings, except *English* their mother tongue. This drudgery could not but render them in time very uneasy; and accordingly when he understood their murmurs, he dispens'd with their duty in this case, and sent them out to learn other things more becoming their sex and condition.

WHAT imploy'd a good part of his thoughts for many years before, and was at first only design'd to be a tragedy, I mean his incomparable epic poem, intitul'd *Paradise Lost*, he now had sufficient leisure to prosecute and finish. *It is a great wonder that this piece should ever be brought to*

"tution most inclined him, would not only powerfully foment those inclinations, but intermeddle and obstruct his most weighty counsels."

Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, octavo edit. vol. 2. p. 85.

perfection, considering the many interruptions that obstructed it. His youth was spent in study, travelling, and religious controversy; his manhood was employ'd in affairs of state, or those of his family; and in his latter years, to speak nothing of a decaying fancy, nor of his personal troubles \*, he was by reason of his blindness oblig'd to write by whatsoever hand came next, ten, or twenty, or thirty verses at a time; and consequently must trust the judgment of others at least for the pointing and orthography. But another difficulty that stoppt its passage to the world was very singular: for his vein never happily flow'd but from the autumnal to the vernal equinox, as his nephew EDWARD PHILIPS affirms, who says he was told this particular by MILTON himself; and yet I fancy he might be mistaken as to the time, because our author, in his *Latin* elegy on the approach of the spring, seems to say just the contrary, as if he could not make any verses to his satisfaction till the spring begun, according to these lines.

\* Mr. Richardson in his notes on Milton says, That Mr. Walker of the Temple, a Relation of Milton's, told Dr. Tancred Robinson, "*That Milton was in perpetual terror of being assassinated, though he had escaped the talons of the law.*" This terror of assassination seems strongly alluded to, but with Milton's accustomed magnanimity, in the following lines of the seventh book of *Paradise lost*, which it is surprising that the licenser did admit.

— I sing with mortal voice, *unchang'd*  
*To boarce or mute, though fall'n on evil dayes,*  
 On evil dayes though fall'n, and evil tongues;  
 In darkness and WITH DANGERS COMPAST ROUND,  
 And solitude. —

*Fallor* ②



*Fallor? An & nobis redeunt in carmina vires,  
 Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adest?  
 Munere veris adest, iterumque vigescit ab illo,  
 (Quis putet?) atque aliquod jam sibi poscit opus.*

A more judicious friend of his informs me, that he could never compose well but in the spring and autumn: And let it be which way you will, it follows that this piece was compos'd in half the time he was thought to be about it. As to the choice of his subject, or the particulars of his story, I shall say nothing in defence of them against those people who brand 'em with heresy and impiety: for to incur the displeasure of certain ignorant and supercilious critics, argues free thinking, accurat writing, and a generous profession of truth. I'm sure if HESIOD, or such other fabulous authors in the rude ages of the world, had given so intelligible, coherent, and delightful an account of the creation of the universe and the origin of mankind, their system had past for divine inspiration; and the unbelievers of it would appear to be so few, that any of 'em might well be shewn for a monster, rather than be thought worthy of punishment or confutation. As to the regularity of the poem, I never knew it question'd by any but such as would build themselves a reputation on the flaws and mistakes they discover in other mens labours, without producing any thing better or equal of their own. But the unparallel'd sublimity and force of the expression, with the delicacy of his thoughts, and the copiousness of his invention, are unanimously own'd by all ranks

of writers. He has incontestably exceeded the fecundity of HOMER, whose two poems he could almost repeat without book: nor did he com much short of the correctness of VIRGIL; which is affirm'd by one whose judgment in this province will be acknowleg'd by every man that is not willing to expose the defect of his own. I mean the famous JOHN DRYDEN, the best *English* poet alive, the present glory of our stage, and the model of the same to future ages; for he (having absolutely master'd these three originals by framing a tragedy out of *Paradise Lost*, making the charms of VIRGIL appear in the *English* tongue, and studying HOMER for the same purpose) pronounces his judgment in favor of MILTON by this incomparable and envy'd epigram\*.

Three poets in three distant ages born,  
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn:

\* Mr. Richardson says, that Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, told him, that Sir John Denham came into the house one morning with a sheet of *Paradise lost* wet from the press in his hand; and being asked what he had there, said, "*that he had part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language or in any age.*" However it is certain, that the book was unknown till about two years after, when the Earl of Dorset produced it, as Mr. Richardson was informed by Dr. Tancred Robinson the physician, who had heard the story often from Fleetwood Shephard himself, that the Earl, in company with Mr. Shephard looking about for books in Little Britain, accidentally met with *Paradise lost*; and being surpris'd at some passages in dipping here and there, he bought it. The bookseller begged his lordship to speak in its favor, if he liked it, for the impression lay on his hands as waste paper. The Earl having read it, sent it to Dryden, who in a short time returned it with this answer, "*This man cuts us all out, and the ancients too.*"

The

The first in loftiness of thought surpass;  
 The next in \* *majesty*; in both the last.  
 The force of nature could no further go:  
 To make a third, she join'd the former two.

The first edition of *Paradise Lost* was publish'd in the year 1666 †, in ten books; but afterwards, amended and enlarg'd by himself, it was dispos'd according to his direction into twelve books, as it is read at present. I must not forget that we had like to be eternally depriv'd of this treasure by the ignorance or malice of the licenser; who, among other frivolous exceptions, would needs suppress the whole poem for imaginary treason in the following lines.

—As when the sun new ris'n  
 Looks thro the horizontal misty air—  
 Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon  
 In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds  
 On half the nations, and with fear of change  
 Perplexes monarchs.

MILTON, taking an occasion from *Satan's* ascending out of infernal darkness towards the light of this world then newly created, perpetuates the history of his own blindness in this admirable passage.

\* Judgment, says Pope.

† Milton's contract with his bookseller, Samuel Simmons, for the copy, bears date April 27, 1667, in which contract he sold his copy for no more than five pounds, but was to receive five pounds more after the sale of 1300 of the first impression, and the number of each impression not to exceed 1500. This original contract is in the hands of Mess. Tonson, booksellers, in the Strand, London.



Hail, holy light ; offspring of heaven firstborn,  
Or of th'eternal coeternal beam,  
May I express thee unblam'd ? Since God is light,  
And never but in unapproach'd light  
Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee  
Bright effluence of bright essence increate.  
Or hearst thou rather pure ethereal stream,  
Whose fountain who shall tell ? Before the sun,  
Before the heavens thou wert ; and at the voice  
Of God, as with a mantle, didst invest  
The rising world of waters dark and deep,  
Won from the void and formless infinite.  
Thee I revisit now with bolder wing,  
Escap'd the *Stygian* pool, tho long detain'd  
In that obscure sojourn ; while in my flight  
(Thro utter and thro middle darkness born)  
I sung of *chaos* and eternal night,  
Taught by the heavenly muse to venture down  
The dark descent, and up to reascend  
Tho hard and rare. Thee I revisit safe,  
And feel thy sovrain vital lamp ; but thou  
Revisit'st not these eys that roll in vain  
To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn :  
So thick a drop serene has quench'd their orbs  
Or dim suffusion veil'd ! Yet not the more  
Cease I to wander where the muses haunt  
Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,  
Smit with the love of sacred song ; but chief,  
Thee, *Sion*, and thy flowry brooks beneath  
That wash thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,  
Nightly I visit. Nor sometimes forget  
Those other two equal'd with me in fate

(So were I equal'd with them in renown)  
 Blind *Thamyris* and blind *Mæonides*,  
 And *Tyresias* and *Phineus*, prophets old.  
 Then feed on thoughts that voluntary move  
 Harmonious numbers ; as the wakeful bird  
 Sings darkling, and, in shadyest coverts hid,  
 Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year  
 Seasons return, but not to me returns  
 Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n, or morn,  
 Or sight of vernal bloom, or summers rose,  
 Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine :  
 But cloud instead, and everduring dark  
 Surrounds me, from the chearful ways of men  
 Cut off ; and, for the book of knowlege fair,  
 Presented with an universal blank  
 Of nature's works to me expung'd and raz'd,  
 And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.  
 So much the rather, thou celestial light,  
 Shine inward, and the mind thro all her powers  
 Irradiat : there plant eys, all mist from thence  
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell  
 Of things invisible to mortal sight.

AN epic poem is not a bare history delightfully related in harmonious numbers, and artfully dispos'd ; but it always contains, besides a general representation of passions and affections, virtues and vices, som peculiar allegory or moral. HOMER therefore, according to DIONYSIUS HALICARNASÆUS, expresses strength of body in his *Iliad* by the wars of the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, but particularly by the valiant deeds of ACHILLES ; and in his *Odysses* he describes generosity of mind by the adventures

venturs and wandrings of ULYSSES in his return from *Troy*. Thus TORQUATO TASSO has prefixt an explication to his *Gierusalemme Liberata*: nor was MILTON behind any body in the choice or dignity of his instruction; for to display the different effects of liberty and tyranny, is the chief design of his *Paradise Lost*. This in the conclusion of his second book of *Reformation*, publish'd in 41, he tells us was his intention at that time; and he afterwards made his promise good. His own words, being part of a prayer to God, deserve serious consideration. " Then, says he, " amidst the hymns and hallelujahs of saints, som " one may perhaps be heard offering at high strains " in new and lofty measures, to sing and celebrat " thy divine mercies, and marvellous judgments " in this land throout all ages, wherby this great and " warlike nation (instructed and inur'd to the fervent " and continual practice of truth and righteousness, " and casting far from it the rags of its old vices) " may press on hard to that high and happy emulation to be found the sobereft, wisest, and most " Christian people at that day, when thou, the " eternal and shortly expected king, shalt open the " clouds to judg the severall kingdoms of the " world; and, distributing national honors and " rewards to religious and just *commonwealths*, " shalt put an end to all earthly *tyrannies*, proclaiming thy universal and mild monarchy thro " heaven and earth. Where they undoubtedly, that " by their labors, counsels, and prayers, have bin " earnest for the common good of religion and " their



“ their country, shall receive (above the inferior  
 “ orders of the blessed) the regal addition of prin-  
 “ cipalities, legions, and thrones into their glori-  
 “ ous titles; and in supereminence of beatific vi-  
 “ sion, progressing the dateless and irrevoluble  
 “ circle of eternity, shall clap inseparable hands  
 “ with joy and bliss in overmeasure for ever. But  
 “ they on the contrary, that by the impairing and  
 “ diminution of the true faith, by the distresses  
 “ and servitude of their country, aspire to high  
 “ dignity, rule, and promotion here, after a shame-  
 “ ful end in this life (which God grant them) shall  
 “ be thrown down eternally into the darkest and  
 “ deepest gulf of hell: where, under the despite-  
 “ ful control, the trample, and spurn of all the  
 “ other damn’d, that in the anguish of their torture  
 “ shall have no other ease than to exercise a raving  
 “ and bestial tyranny over them as their slaves and  
 “ negros, they shall remain in that plight for ever,  
 “ the basest, the lowermost, the most dejected,  
 “ most underfoot, and downtrodden vassals of  
 “ perdition.” I shall end my account of this  
 divine poem \* with a copy of *Latin* verses made  
 upon it by SAMUEL BARROW, a doctor of physick.

*Qui*

\* Bishop Atterbury's high esteem of our author is evident  
 from his letter to Mr. Pope, dated at Bromley, Nov. 8th, 1717.  
 “ I return you (says he) your Milton, which, upon collation, I  
 “ find to be revised and augmented in several places, as the title-  
 “ page of my third edition pretends it to be. When I see you  
 “ next I will shew you the several passages altered and added by  
 “ the author, beside what you mentioned to me. I protest to you,  
 “ this last perusal of him has given me such new degrees, I will  
 “ not say of pleasure, but of admiration and astonishment, that  
 “ I look upon the sublimity of Homer, and the majesty of Virgil,  
 “ with

*Qui legis amissam Paradisum, grandia magni  
Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cuncta legis?  
Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,  
Et fata, & fines, continet iste liber.*

“ with somewhat less reverence, than I used to do. I challenge you, with all your partiality, to shew me, in the first of these, any thing equal to the allegory of Sin and Death, either as to the greatness and justness of the invention, or the height and beauty of the colouring. What I looked upon as a rant of Barrow’s, I now begin to think a serious truth, and could almost venture to set my hand to it;

“ Hæc quicunque legit, tantum cecinisse putabit  
“ Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.

“ But more of this when we meet.”

Birch’s Life of Milton, p. lxii.

But the concurrent applauses of all persons of true taste did not secure this admirable poem from an unexampled attempt to blast the reputation of it upon the pretence of its being formed from the plagiarism of various modern authors, most of them unknown to the present age. This assertion was first started in London, in the beginning of May 1746, by Mr. William Lauder, a Scotsman, known some years before by an edition of Dr. Arthur Johnston’s Latin version of the Psalms. It was afterwards made more public in the “Gentleman’s Magazine,” and at last maintained with great zeal and protestations of sincerity, in an “Essay on Milton’s use and imitation of the moderns,” printed at London in 1750. in 8vo. But the world was soon satisfied by a learned countryman of his, the reverend Mr. Douglas, rector of Eton-Constantine in Shropshire, in his pamphlet, intitled, “Milton vindicated;” that this high charge of plagiarism, brought against our poet, was grounded only upon the forgeries and falsifications of the accuser, who had interpolated those authors, from whom he pretended that Milton had borrowed, and inserted in them passages which he had himself taken from Hog’s translation of “Paradise Lost,” and the detection of the imposture was so far from being attended with a proper sense of guilt to the author, that he set his invention again to work for various and inconsistent reasons to justify it.

Dr. Birch’s Life of Milton, p. lxvii, lxviii.

*Intima*

Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,  
 Scribitur & toto quicquid in orbe latet.  
 Terræque tractusque maris, cælumque profundum,  
 Sulphureumque crebi flammivomumque specus.  
 Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, & tartara cæca,  
 Quæque colunt summi lucida regna poli.  
 Et quodcunque ullis conclusum est finibus usquam,  
 Et sine fine chaos, & sine fine Deus :  
 Et sine fine magis (siquid magis est sine fine)  
 In Christo erga homines conciliatus amor.  
 Hæc qui speraret, quis crederet esse futurum?  
 Et tamen hæc bodie terra Britannia legit.  
 O quantos in bella duces ! quæ protulit arma !  
 Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba !  
 Cælestes acies ! atque in certamine cælum !  
 Et quæ cælestes pugna deceret agros !  
 Quantus in ætheriis tollit se Lucifer armis !  
 Atque ipso graditur vix Michaele minor !  
 Quantis ac quam funestis concurritur iris !  
 Dum ferus hic stellas protegit, ille rapit !  
 Dum vulsos montes, ceu tela reciproca, torquent ;  
 Et non mortali desuper igne pluunt :  
 Stat dubius cui se parti concedat Olympus,  
 Et metuit pugnae non superesse suæ.  
 At simul in cælis Messæ insignia fulgent,  
 Et currus animes, armaque digna Deo,  
 Horrendumque rotæ strident, & sæva rotarum  
 Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,  
 Et flammæ vibrant, & vera tonitrua rauco  
 Admistis flammis insonuere polo :  
 Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis,  
 Et cassis dextris irrita tela cadunt.



*Ad pœnas fugiunt, & ceu foret Orcus asylum,*

*Infernis certant condere se tenebris.*

*Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii*

*Et quot recens fama, vel celebravit anus.*

*Hæc quicunque leget tantum cecinisse putabit*

*Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.*

IN the year 1670 he publish'd his *Paradise Regain'd*, consisting of four books; but generally esteem'd much inferior to *Paradise Lost*, which he could not endure to hear, being quite of another mind: yet this occasion'd some body to say wittily enough that MILTON might be seen in *Paradise Lost*, but not in *Paradise Regain'd*\*: With this last book he publisht his *Samson Agonistes*, an admirable tragedy, not a ridiculous mixture of gravity and farce according to most of the modern, but after the example of the yet unequal'd antients, as they are justly call'd, ÆSCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, and EURIPIDES.

\* It is commonly reported, that Milton himself preferred this poem to *Paradise lost*: But all that we can assert upon good authority is, that he could not indure to hear this poem cried down so much as it was, in comparison with the other. For certainly it is very worthy of the author, and contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in *Paradise regained* as well as in *Paradise lost*. If it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not superior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not sometimes rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low, and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has rais'd as noble a superstructure, as such little room and scanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is the contrast between the two characters of the Tempter and our Saviour.

Newton's Life of Milton.

IN

IN the year 70 also came abroad his *History of Britain*, wherof we had occasion to speak before. He deduc'd it only to the *Norman* conquest, and yet we have it not as it came out of his hands; for the licensers, *those sworn officers to destroy learning, liberty, and good sense*, expung'd several passages of it wherein he expos'd the superstition, pride, and cunning of the popish monks in the *Saxon* times, but apply'd by the sagacious licensers to CHARLES the second's bishops. This puts me in mind of a reply to a certain person by Sir ROBERT HOWARD lately deceast, a gentleman of great generosity, a patron of letters, and a hearty friend to the liberty of his country. Being told that he was charg'd in a book with whipping the protestant clergy on the back of the heathen and popish priests, *he presently ask'd what they had to do there?* He was a great admirer of MILTON to his dying day; and, being his particular acquaintance, would tell many pleasant stories of him, as that he himself having demanded of him once what made him side with the *republicans?* MILTON answer'd, among other reasons, because theirs was the most frugal government; for that the trappings of a monarchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth. But not to digress too far, our author bestow'd a copy of the unlicens'd papers of his history on the earl of ANGLESEY, who, as well as several of the nobility and gentry, was his constant visitor. Nor was he less frequented by foreners to the last, than in the time of his flourishing condition before the restoration. It is an irreparable loss to this most potent nation, that MILTON did not find leisure to bring down his history to his own times:

*times*: for (as the noblest ornament of all politeness and literature Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE justly complains) “ tho the *English* are so renown’d by  
 “ the fame of their arms and exploits abroad, so  
 “ applauded and envy’d for their wise and happy  
 “ institutions at home, so flourishing in arts and  
 “ learning, and so adorn’d by excellent writers in  
 “ other kinds, yet none of ’em has produc’d one  
 “ good or approv’d general history of *England*.  
 “ But our histories (continues he) have been written by such mean and vulgar authors, so tedious  
 “ in their relations, or rather collections; so injudicious in their choice of what was fit to be told,  
 “ or to be let alone; with so little order, and in so  
 “ wretched a stile; that as it is a shame to be ignorant in the affairs of our own country, so ’tis hardly worth the time or pains to be inform’d, since  
 “ for that end a man must read over a library, rather than a book: and after all, must be content to forget more than he remembers.” This charge is too true, and yet it’s very strange it should be so, seeing no country in the world has afforded a greater diversity or a better choice of actions, nor is furnisht with more ample or authentic materials for framing a just and full body of history. Would Sir WILLIAM be pleas’d to continue so useful a work, according to the inimitable specimen he has publisht for encouraging som other to pursue this attempt, *England* might boldly compare with *Rome*, and himself be reckon’d equal with LIVY. But tho he gos no further than the *Norman* conquest, which is the period of MILTON, yet we expect a larger account from JAMES TYRREL,



TYRREL, the worthy grandson of archbishop USHER. This learned gentleman, to supply the defects wherof Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE complains, has undertaken to write a general history of *England* from the remotest traditional beginnings to this time. The first volume of it is already abroad, which reaches likewise to WILLIAM the first; the second is now finish'd; and I hope he'll meet with sufficient encouragement to make a speedy publication of the rest. For tho' his work may not perfectly reach Sir WILLIAM's plan in the nicest exactness of order, stile, and composition; yet it must be confest by all true judges to be the most impartial and complete, the faithfullest, the most methodical, and in all respects the best collection that was ever made in *England*. All our manuscript historical records, and the numerous company of our particular historians, can serve for little more to posterity than to verify the contents of this book: nor will any body be at the trouble to preserve 'em for this purpose, that is not a stranger to Mr. TYRREL's diligence and integrity.

MILTON wrote som Miscellaneous pieces much inferior to his other works, as a *Grammar* for learning the *Latin* tongue; a *Logic* after the method of PETRUS RAMUS; a brief history of *Muscovy*, and of other less known countries, lying eastward of it as far as *Cathay*, collected from the relations of several travellers: he translated out of *Latin* into *English*, the declaration of the *Poles* concerning the election of their king JOHN the third, containing an account of the virtues and merits of the said prince; he publish'd Sir WALTER RALEIGH's *Prince*;

or his *Maxims and Aphorisms of State*; and he also printed his *Cabinet Council*. More pieces of *this rarely accomplish'd, tho' unfortunat Gentleman*, were made public by other persons; and I daily expect som more from JAMES TYRREL, who has the manuscript copies in his hands, and, I dare affirm, will not envy such a blessing to the nation.

OUR author's juvenil and occasional poems, both in *English* and *Latin*, were printed in one small volume. I took notice of the best of 'em in many places of this discourse; *but the monody wherin he bewails his learned friend Mr. KING drown'd in the Irish seas, is one of the finest he ever wrote.*

THE *Danish* resident prevail'd with MILTON to get the letters of state (formerly mention'd) transcrib'd \*, and which were publish'd after his death: as were also his *familiar letters* in 74, wherin, to use the words of MORHOF, there are many characters of antient and modern, of domestic and foren authors, very fit to be read and understood. The last thing he wrote, and that was publish'd a little before his death, is his *Treatise of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the best means that may be us'd to prevent the growth of popery*. He observ'd (as all discerning men must have don at that time) the prodigious increase of the *Romish* superstition, occasion'd partly by the persecution against dissenting protestants, *but more*

\* His state letters will remain as *authentic* memorials of those times, *to be admir'd equally by Critics and Politicians*; and those particularly about the sufferings of the poor Protestants in Piedmont, who can read without sensible emotion? This was a subject that he had very much at heart, *as he was an utter enemy to all sorts of persecution*; and among his sonnets there is a most excellent one upon the occasion.

by the encouragement it receiv'd from the royal brothers CHARLES and the duke of York. From the principles which our author lays in his book (and which, I think, are those of the first reformers) he infers that no true *protestant* can persecute any persons for speculative points of conscience, much less not tolerat his fellow *protestant*, tho in som things dissenting from his own judgment. After shewing that false religion consists in the corrupt traditions of men, and their arbitrary additions to the divine rule or standard of all truth, he was at no great labor to prove the members of the *Roman* church to be the greatest heretics in the world. As for schism, or the division of congregations from their difference in opinions, he shews it may happen in the true church as well as in the false; but that in the first it need not break communion or brotherly love, no more than among the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, who amicably met at their common worship in *Jerusalem*. "It is human frailty to err, says he, "and no man is infallible here on earth. But so long as the *Lutberans*, *Calvinists*, *Anabaptists*, *Soci-nians*, and *Arminians*, profess to set the word of God only before them as the rule of their faith and obedience; and use all diligence and sincerity of heart by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for illumination of the holy Spirit, to understand this rule and obey it, they have done whatever man can do. God will assuredly pardon them, as he did the friends of *Job*, good and pious men, tho much mistaken (as there it appears) in som points of doctrin. But som will say, with *Christians* it is otherwise, whom



" God has promis'd by his Spirit to teach all  
 " things. True, all things, absolutely necessary  
 " to salvation: But the hottest disputes among  
 " *protestants*, calmly and charitably examin'd, will  
 " be found less than such. The *Lutheran* holds  
 " consubstantiation; an error indeed, but not  
 " mortal. The *Calvinist* is tax'd with predestina-  
 " tion, and to make God the author of sin; not  
 " with any dishonorable thoughts of God, but,  
 " it may be, overzealously asserting his absolute  
 " power, not without plea from scripture. The  
 " *anabaptist* is accus'd of denying infants their  
 " right to baptism; they say again, that they  
 " deny nothing but what the scripture denys  
 " them. The *Arian* and *Socinian* are charg'd to  
 " dispute against the Trinity; yet they affirm to  
 " believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, ac-  
 " cording to scripture and the apostolic creed.  
 " As for the terms of trinity, triunity, coessen-  
 " tiality, tripersonality, and the like, they reject  
 " them as scholastic notions, not to be found in  
 " scripture, which, by a general *protestant* maxim,  
 " is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain  
 " its own meaning in the properest words belong-  
 " ing to so high a matter, and so necessary to be  
 " known; a mystery indeed in their sophistic sub-  
 " tilities, but in scripture a plain doctrin. The  
 " *Arminian* lastly is condemn'd for setting up free  
 " will against free grace; but that imputation he  
 " disclaims in all his writings, and grounds him-  
 " self largely upon scripture only. It cannot be  
 " deny'd that the authors or late revivers of all  
 " these sects or opinions were learned, worthy,  
 " zea-

“ zealous, and religious men, as appears by their  
“ lives written, and the fame of their many emi-  
“ nent and learned followers, perfect and power-  
“ ful in the scriptures, holy and unblamable in  
“ their actions : And it cannot be imagin’d that  
“ God would desert such painful and zealous la-  
“ borers in his church, and oftentimes great suf-  
“ ferers for their conscience, to damnable errors  
“ and a reprobate sense, who had so often implor’d  
“ the assistance of his Spirit ; but rather, having  
“ made no man infallible, that he has pardon’d  
“ their errors, and accepts their pious endeavors,  
“ sincerely searching all things according to the  
“ rule of scripture, with such guidance and direc-  
“ tion as they can obtain of God by prayer. What  
“ *protestant* then, who himself maintains the same  
“ principles, and disavows all implicit faith, would  
“ persecute, and not rather charitably tolerate such  
“ men as these, unless he means to abjure the prin-  
“ ciples of his own religion ? If it be ask’d how  
“ far they should be tolerated ? I answer, doubtless  
“ equally, as being all *protestants* ; that is, on all  
“ occasions to be permitted to give an account of  
“ their faith, either by arguing, preaching in their  
“ several assemblies, by public writing, and the  
“ freedom of printing.” Nothing can be ima-  
gin’d more reasonable, honest, or pious, than this  
passage ; and I don’t remember ever to have met  
with any person who spoke with such disinterested-  
ness and impartiality of our various sects in religion  
except THOMAS FIRMIN, whose charity was as  
much extended to men of different opinions, as it  
was to the poor of all sorts in good works ; but in

this last respect he was never yet equal'd, nor likely to be easily excelled by any hereafter: tho his excellent example is admir'd by several, and deserves to be imitated by all. In the last place, MILTON shews that *popery* (not as it is a religion, but as a tyrannical faction oppressing all others) is intolerable, and that the best method of keeping it from ever increasing in this nation, is by the toleration of all kinds of *protestants*, or any others whose principles do not necessarily lead 'em to sedition or vice. *But this subject is since perfectly exhausted, and treated with greater clearness and brevity than ever before in a letter concerning toleration by JOHN LOCK, who in his book of Human Understanding must be confest to be the greatest philosopher after CICERO in the universe; for he's throly acquainted with human nature, well vers'd in the useful affairs of the world, a great master of eloquence (qualities in which the Roman consul excel'd) and like him also a hearty lover of his country, as appears by his treatises of government and education, not inferior in their kind to the divinest pieces of TULLY. MILTON'S Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, design'd as a supplement to STEPHANUS, was never publisht, and has bin of great use to Dr. LITTLETON in compiling his dictionary. He wrote likewise a System of Divinity, but whether intended for public view, or collected merely for his own use, I cannot determin. It was in the hands of his friend CYRIAC SKINNER; and where at present is uncertain.*

THIS is a full and true account of his genuin works and sentiments, not putting the directions or assistance which he frequently gave other writers,



to his account. Towards the latter part of his time he contracted his library, both because the heirs he left could not make a right use of it, and that he thought he might sell it more to their advantage than they could be able to do themselves. His enemies reported that poverty constrain'd him thus to part with his books: and were this true, it would be indeed a great disgrace, not to him (for persons of the highest merits have bin often reduc'd to that condition) but to any country that should have no more regard to probity or learning: this story however is so false, that he dy'd worth fifteen hundred pounds, besides all his goods. The house wherein he was born, and which strangers us'd to visit before the fire, was part of his estate as long as it stood. He put two thousand pounds into the excise, which he lost when that bank fail'd; not to mention another great sum which was gon for want of management and good advice. He was never very healthy, nor too sickly; and the distemper that troubled him most of any other was the gout, of which he dy'd without much pain in the year from the birth of CHRIST 1674, and in the six and sixtieth of his age. All his learned and great friends in *London*, not without a friendly concourse of the vulgar, accompany'd his body to the church of St. GILES near *Cripplegate*, where he lies buried in the chancel; and where the piety of his admirers will shortly erect a monument becoming his worth, and the incouragement of letters in king WILLIAM's reign.

Thus liv'd and dy'd JOHN MILTON, a person of the best accomplishments, the happiest genius, and the vastest learning which this nation, so renown'd for producing excellent writers, could ever yet shew : esteem'd indeed at home, but much more honor'd abroad \*, where almost in his childhood he made a considerable figure, and continues to be still reputed one of the brightest luminaries of the sciences. He was middlesiz'd and well proportion'd, his deportment erect and manly, his hair of a light brown, his features exactly regular, his complexion wonderfully fair when a youth †, and ruddy to the very last. He was affable in conversation, of an equal and chearful temper, and highly delighted with all sorts of music, in which he was himself not meanly skil'd. He was extraordinary temperat in his diet, which was any thing most in season or the easiest procur'd, and was no friend to sharp or strong liquors. His recreations, before his sight was gon, consisted much in feats of activity, particularly in the exercise of his arms, which he could handle with dexterity : but when blindness and age confin'd him, he play'd much

\* By the great fire, which happened in London the beginning of September 1666, he had a house in Bread-street burnt, which was all the real estate that he had then left. To conclude, He was more admired abroad, and by foreigners, than at home ; and was much visited by them when he lived in Petty France, *some of whom have out of pure devotion gone to Bread-street to see the house and chamber where he was born.*

A. Wood, Fasti Oxon.

† In his youth he is said to have been extremely handsome, and while he was a student at Cambridge, he was called, "The Lady of Christ's College," and he took notice of this himself in one of his public Prologues before that university; "A qui- busdam audiivi nuper domina."

Birch's Life of Milton.

upon

upon an organ he kept in the house; and had a pulley to swing and keep him in motion. But the love of books exceeded all his other passions. In summer he would be stirring at four in the morning, and in winter at five; but at night he us'd to go to bed by nine, partly attributing the loss of his eyes to his late watching when he was a student, and looking on this custom as very pernicious to health at any time: but when he was not dispos'd to rise at his usual hours, he always had one to read to him by his bedside. As he look'd upon true and absolute freedom to be the greatest happiness of this life, whether to societies or single persons; so he thought constraint of any sort to be the utmost misery: for which reason he us'd to tell those about him the intire satisfaction of his mind, that he had constantly imploy'd his strength and faculties in the defence of liberty\*, and in a direct opposition to slavery. He ever express'd the profoundest reverence to the Deity as well in deeds as words; and would say to his friends, that the divine properties of goodness, justice, and mercy, were the adequate rule of human actions, nor less the object of imitation for privat advantages, than of admiration or respect for their own excellence and perfection. In his early days he was a favorer of those *protestants* then opprobriously cal'd by the name of *Puritans*: In his middle years he

\* In all Milton's writings, *whatever others of different parties may think, he thought himself an advocate for true liberty*; for ecclesiastical liberty in his treatises against the bishops, for domestic liberty in his books of divorce, and for civil liberty in his writing against the King in defence of the Parliament and People of England.

Newton's Life of Milton.



was best pleas'd with the *independents* and *anabaptists*, as allowing of more liberty than others, and coming nearest in his opinion to the primitive practice : but in the latter part of his life, he was not a professing member of any particular sect among Christians, he frequented none of their assemblies, nor made use of their peculiar rites in his family. Whether this proceeded from a dislike of their uncharitable and endless disputes, and that love of dominion, or inclination to persecution, which, he said, was a piece of popery inseparable from all churches ; or whether he thought one might be a good man, without subscribing to any party ; and that they had all in some things corrupted the institutions of JESUS CHRIST, I will by no means adventure to determine : for conjectures on such occasions are very uncertain, and I never met with any of his acquaintance who could be positive in assigning the true reasons of his conduct.

I SHALL now conclude this discourse with a character given of him by a man of unparallel'd diligence and industry, who has disoblig'd all sides merely for telling the truth either intirely, or without disguise ; and who, since most men have the frailty of engaging in factions, cannot be suspected of partiality in favor of MILTON. He was a person, says ANTHONY WOOD in the first volume of his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, of wonderful parts, of a very sharp, biting, and satyrical wit ; he was a good philosopher and historian ; an excellent poet, Latinist, Grecian, and Hebrician ; a good mathematician and musician ; and so rarely endow'd by nature, that had he bin but honestly principled, he

he might have bin highly useful to that party, against which he all along appear'd with much malice and bitterness.

AND now, Sir, I end with you, with whom I begun, not doubting but this small present, both from the dignity of the subject and your favor to the writer, will be kindly accepted. It may indeed be the more plain and unpolish'd, but not the less useful or sincere for coming out of a country retirement. The most knowing persons acknowlege that divine philosophy her self was begot in the woods, where agreeably passing her infancy, and growing up in the neighboring fields, she became gentle in time, and so ventur'd to com into towns and cities; but being quickly weary'd there with the tumult of business or faction, and longing for her former tranquillity, she straight retir'd into gardens or groves, to her fields and woods again. *'Tis probable that you (as well as I or any other) may disapprove of MILTON's sentiments in several cases, but, I'm sure, you are far from being displeas'd to find 'em particulariz'd in the history of his life; for we should have no true account of things, if authors related nothing but what they lik'd themselves: one party would never suffer the lives of TARQUIN, or PHALARIS, or SYLLA, or CÆSAR,*

CÆSAR, to appear; while another would be as ready to suppress those of CICERO, of CATO, of TRAJAN, or BRUTUS. But a historian ought to conceal or disguise nothing, and the reader is to be left judg of the virtues he should imitat, or the vices he ought to detest and avoid, without ever loving his book the less: for (as the lord BACON truly said) *a forbidden writing is thought to be a certain spark of truth that flies up in the faces of them who seek to tread it out.* But your extraordinary judgment and candor, join'd to the best learning, and an exact knowlege of men and affairs, render my further inculcating of these maxims very needless; and therefore I shall only put you in mind, Sir, that my desire of gratifying your curiosity conquer'd my aversion to write any thing during this pleasantest season of the year.

Sept. 3. 1698.

J. T.

F I N I S.

Al



Al Signor Gio. Miltoni Nobile  
Inglese.

O D E.

**E**RGIMI all' Etra o Clio  
Perche di stelle intrecciò corona

Non piu del Biondo Dio

La Fronde eterna in Pindo, e in Elicon;

Dienfi a merto maggior, maggiori i fregi,

A celeste virtù celesti pregi.

Non puo del tempo edace

Rimaner preda, eterno alto valore

Non puo l' oblio rapace

Furar dalle memorie eccelso onore,

Su l'arco di mia cetra un dardo forse

Virtù m'addatti, e feriro la morte.

Del Ocean profondo

Cinta dagli ampi gorgbi Anglia reseda

Separata dal mondo,

Pero che il suo valor l'umano eccede:

Questa seconda sa produrre Eroi,

Ch' hanno a ragion del sovrumano tra noi.

*Alla virtù sbandita  
Danno ne i petti lor fido ricetta,  
Quella gli e sol gradita,  
Perche in lei san trovar gioia, e diletto;  
Ridillo tu, Giovanni, e mostra in tanto  
Con tua vera virtù, vero il mio Canto.*

*Lungi dal Patrio lido  
Spinse Zeusi l' industre ardente brama;  
Cb' udio d' Helena il grido  
Con aurea tromba rimbombar la fama,  
E per poterla effigiare al paro  
Dalle piu belle Idee trasse il piu raro.*

*Così l' Ape Ingegnosa  
Trae con industria il suo liquor pregiato  
Dal giglio e dalla rosa,  
E quanti vaghi fiori ornano il prato;  
Formano un dolce suon diverse Chorde,  
Fan varie voci melodia concorde.*

*Di bella gloria amante  
Milton dal Ciel natio per varie parti  
Le peregrini piante  
Volgesti a ricercar scienze, ed arti;  
Del Gallo regnator vedesti i regni,  
E dell' Italia ancor gl' Eroi piu degni.*

*Fabro quasi divino  
Sol virtù rintracciando il tuo pensiero  
Vide in ogni confino  
Chi di nobil valor calca il sentiero;  
L' ottimo dal miglior dopo scegliea  
Per fabbricar d' ogni virtù l' Idea.*

*Quanti nacquero in Flora  
O in lei del parlar Tosco appreser l'arte,  
La cui memoria onora  
Il mondo fatta eterna in dotte carte,  
Volesti ricercar per tuo tesoro,  
E parlasti con lor nell' opre loro.*

*Nell' altera Babelle  
Per te il parlar confuse Giove in vano,  
Che per varie favelle  
Di se stessa trofeo cadde su'l piano :  
Cb' Ode oltr' all' Anglia il suo piu degno Idioma  
Spagna, Francia, Toscana, e Grecia e Roma.*

*I piu profondi arcani  
Cb' occulta la natura e in cielo e in terra  
Cb' a Ingegni sovrumani  
Tropo avara tal' hor gli chiude, e serra,  
Chiaramente conosci, e giungi al fine  
Della moral virtude al gran confine.*

*Non batta il tempo l' ale,  
Fermisi immotto, e in un fermin si gl' anni,  
Che di virtu immortale  
Scorron di troppo ingiuriosi a i danni ;  
Che s' opre digne di Poema e storia  
Furon gia, l' hai presenti alla memoria.*

*Dammi tua dolce Cetra  
Se vuoi cb'io dica del tuo dolce canto,  
Cb' inalzandoti all' Etra  
Di farti huomo celeste ottiene il vanto,  
Il Tamigi il dira che gl' e concesso  
Per te suo cigno pareggiar Permessso.*



*Io che in riva del Arno  
 Tenta spiegar tuo merto alto, e preclaro  
 Sa che fatico indarno,  
 E ad ammirar, non a lodarlo imparo;  
 Freno dunque la lingua, e ascolto il core  
 Che ti prende a lodar con lo stupore.*

Del sig. Antonio Francini gentilhuomo  
 Fiorentino.

An Exact CATALOGUE of all  
*MILTON's* Works in their  
 true Order \*, as they are men-  
 tion'd in the History of his  
 Life.

1. *OF Reformation in England, and the Causes  
 that hitherto have hindred it. In two books.  
 Written to a friend. In quarto. page 19.*
2. *Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it can be  
 deduced from the Apostolical times, by Virtue of  
 those Testimonies which are alledg'd to that Purpose  
 in some late Treatises; one whereof goes under the  
 Name of James Archbishop of Armagh. p. 22.*
3. *The Reason of Church-Government urg'd against  
 Prelaty. In two Books. p. 23.*
4. *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence  
 against Smectymnuus. p. 25.*
5. *An Apology for Smectymnuus. p. 28.*
6. *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce restored to  
 the Good of both Sexes, from the Bondage of Canon  
 Law, and other Mistakes, to the true Meaning of*

\* Toland first collected and published the author's prose works in three volumes folio, in 1698; for which all lovers of liberty owe grateful praises to his name: but through hurry, or perhaps not having seen the different copies, he printed from the FIRST edition of some tracts, which the author had afterwards published with considerable additions.

The editor's preface to *Iconoclastes*, printed for A. Millar, in quarto, 1756.

*Scripture in the Law and Gospel compared, &c.*

P. 43.

7. *Tetrachordon : Expositions upon the four chief Places in Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage, &c.*

P. 47.

8. *The Judgment of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce : Written to Edward the Sixth in his second Book of the Kingdom of Christ, &c.*

P. 48.

9. *Colasterion : a Reply to a nameless Answer against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce : Wherein the trivial Author of that Answer is discovered, the Licenser conferred with, and the Opinion which they traduce, defended.*

ibid.

10. *Of Education. To Master Samuel Hartlib.*

p. 50.

11. *Areopagitica : a Speech for the Liberty of unlicens'd Printing, to the Parliament of England.*

ibid.

12. *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates : proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all Ages, for any who have the Power, to call to Account a Tyrant or wicked King, and after due Conviction, to depose, and put him to Death, if the ordinary Magistrate have neglected, or denied to do it, &c.*

p. 61.

13. *Eikonoclastes : in answer to a Book intituled Eikon Basilike, the portraiture of his sacred Majesty, in his Solitude and Sufferings. Quarto.*

p. 68.

14. *Observations on the Articles of Peace between James Earl of Ormond, for King Charles the First, on the one Hand, and the Irish Rebels and Papists on the other Hand : and on a Letter sent by Ormond to Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin ; and a Representation of the Scots Presbytery at Belfast in Ireland,*



- Ireland. *To which the said Articles, Letter, with Colonel Jones's Answer to it, and Representation, &c. are prefixed.* p. 79.
15. *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano, or his Defence of the People of England against Salmasius's Defence of the King.* p. 84.
16. *Joannis Philippi Responsio ad Apologiam Anonymi cujusdam.* p. 89.
17. *Defensio secunda pro Populo Anglicano, &c.* p. 93.
18. *Defensio pro se adversus Alexandrum Morum,* p. 97.
19. *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes: Shewing, that it is not lawful for any Power on Earth to compel in Matters of Religion.* p. 99.
20. *Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove Hirelings out of the Church, &c.* *ibid.*
21. *A Letter to a Friend concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth.* p. 103.
22. *The present Means, and brief Delineation of a Free Commonwealth; easy to be put in Practice, and without Delay. In a Letter to General Monk. Published from the Manuscript.* p. 106.
23. *Brief Notes upon a late Sermon, titled, The Fear of God and the King; preached, and since published by Matthew Griffith, D. D. and Chaplain to the late King; wherein many notorious Writings of Scripture, and other Falsities are observed.* *ibid.*
24. *The ready and easy way to establish a Free Commonwealth; and the Excellence thereof compar'd with the Inconveniencies and Dangers of re-admitting Kingship in this Nation. Quarto.* p. 107.
25. *Paradise Lost.* p. 117.

26. *Paradise Regain'd, and Sampson Agonistes.* p. 128.
27. *Occasional and Juvenil Poems, English and Latin.* p. 132.
28. *The History of Britain to the Norman Conquest.* p. 129.
29. *Accedence commenced Grammar: Supplied with sufficient Rules for the Use of such as, younger or elder, are desirous, without more Trouble than needs, to attain the Latin Tongue; the elder Sort especially with little Teaching, and their own Industry.* p. 131.
30. *A brief History of Muscovy.* ibid.
31. *A Declaration of the Election of John III, King of Poland.* ibid.
32. *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata.* ibid.
33. *A Treatise of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the best Means to prevent the Growth of Popery.* 132:
34. *Litteræ Senatus Anglicani, &c. or Letters of State.* ibid.
35. *Epistolarum familiarium Liber unus; accesserunt Prolusiones quædam oratoriæ.* ibid.

A M Y N T O R:  
O R, A  
D E F E N C E  
O F  
Milton's Life.

CONTAINING

- I. A general Apology for all Writings of that Kind.
- II. A Catalogue of Books attributed in the Primitive Times to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles and other eminent Persons: With several important Remarks and Observations relating to the Canon of Scripture.
- III. A Complete History of the Book, entitul'd, *Icon Basilike*, proving Dr. GAUDEN, and not King CHARLES the First, to be the Author of it: With an Answer to all the Facts, alledg'd by Mr. WAGSTAF to the contrary; and to the Exceptions made against my Lord ANGLESEY's *Memorandum*, Dr. WALKER's Book, or Mrs. GAUDEN's Narrative, which last Piece is now the first Time publish'd at large.

---

*DI quibus imperium est animarum, umbræque Silentes,  
Et Chaos, & Phlegethon, Loca Nocte tacentia late,  
Sit mihi fas audita loqui; Sit numine vestro,  
Pandere res alta terra & caligine mersas. Virg. Æn. 6.*

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O P I

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THE  
AUTHOR  
TO A  
FRIEND.

*THE public is so seldom interested in the debates of privat men, and I am so little concern'd at the malice or mistakes of my adversaries, that, without som better motive, I would never presume to trouble the world with any thing merely personal. But if the subject in question be of extraordinary weight and consequence, and that on the certain decision of it should depend the tranquillity of a considerable number of people, then I think a man is indispensably oblig'd to appear for the truth; and so, while he's endeavoring to serve others, no body will say he ought to neglect his own defence. Whether the treatise I now send you be of this nature, is submitted to your equal judgment: And unless I really design'd a nobler end by it than the justification of one person, neither you nor any body else should lose your time in reading, no more than I myself would be at the pains of writing it, which yet I'll count the highest pleasure if I understand it has never so little contributed to the satisfaction of a gentleman of such undisputed learning and merit.*

March 30, 1699.

John Toland.

21816



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A M Y N T O R :  
O R, A  
D E F E N C E  
O F  
M I L T O N ' s L i f e .

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**W**HEN I undertook to write the life of the most celebrated MILTON, I was far from imagining that I should ever (much less so soon) be oblig'd to make an apology in justification of such a work, both harmless in it self, and greatly desir'd by the world. There was no positive law or custom against publishing the particular history of this extraordinary person, consider'd in any respect whatsoever : for the lives of good princes and tyrants, of orthodox and heretical divines, of virtuous and wicked, of public and privat men, are indifferently perus'd by every body ; of which it would be superfluous to alledg examples, the thing being so commonly known by all that have learnt to read. Nor without such a liberty

liberty \* could we possibly form a true taste, or have any certain knowledg of affairs, since the excellence or imperfection of all matters best appears by opposing 'em to one another. *And I was sure (which I find was no mistake) that the learning and sentiments of JOHN MILTON were too considerable not to deserve the highest commendation or dislike, according to the judgment or affection of the readers.*

SINCE therefore it was equally lawful for me to write whose life I pleas'd (when my hand was in) the first charge against me, one would think, should have bin, that I had not fairly represented MY HERO. But very far from that, *the great crime whereof I am arraign'd, consists in telling more than som people would have me; or discovering truths not fit to be known; and the manner of my relation is to them altogether as offensive and displeasing as the matter of it.* 'Tis strange that men should be found of a judgment weak enough to make a crime of such proceedings in a writer, who labors to keep himself wholly independent from the fears or en-

\* This freedom of discussion on the dead of any rank, or however consecrated by the authority of great names, or even by the esteem of ages, *every man ought to be at liberty to exercise.* The greatest men certainly may be mistaken; *so may even the judgment of ages, which often takes opinions upon trust.* No authority, under divine, is too great to be called in question, and however venerable Monarchy may be in a state, no man ever wished to see the government of letters under any form but that of a Republic. As a Citizen of that Commonwealth *I propose my sentiments* for the revision of any decree, of any honorary sentence, *as I think fit: My Fellow-citizens, equally free, will vote according to their opinions.*

WALPOLE's Catal. of R. and N. Authors, edit. 2, in the advertisement,

gagements of any party ; and who profess'd in the very beginning of his book, that " being neither " provok'd by malice, nor brib'd by favor, he " would as well dare to say all that was true, as " scorn to write any falsehood." But the rude opposition with which I have met, notwithstanding such plain declarations, convinces me more than ever how much I was in the right by following the peculiar method I propos'd to my self in compiling MILTON's life, and which I partly declar'd in these terms : " In the characters of " sects and parties, books or opinions, I shall " produce his own words as I find 'em in his " works ; that those who approve his reasons, " may owe all the obligation to himself ; and " that I may escape the blame of such as may " dislike what he says." Now, what could be more impartial than this ? or more likely to secure me from all imputations, whatever should be the reception of MILTON from the public ? Yet if by adhering religiously to this rule so loud a clamor was rais'd against me, it is apparent how much worse I might expect to be treated, had I trod in the common road. For if, like most historians, I had in my own words (tho' with never so much candor) related the actions or sentiments of my author, my adversaries would presently have told the world that this was not the true MILTON, but one of my own creation, whom I prompted to speak what I durst not own ; and by whose mouth I had publish'd all those opinions which I would recommend to other people. Well knowing therefore the ordinary temper and artifices  
of



of these men, I did partly on that account produce his own words to obviate their sophistry and calumnies, their two principal offensive weapons; and also to spare my self the pains of quotations afterwards, to prove I had neither injur'd him nor abus'd my readers. Besides this particular regard to them, I am also of opinion that this is the best and only good way of writing the history of such a man. And had the antients always follow'd it, our modern critics would have been less exercis'd to discern their real sentiments; nor wou'd they be so often oblig'd to examin whether they understood or mis-represented their authors.

BUT instead of any objections like these, I am expressly told that I ought not to meddle with MILTON's books, nor to revive his sentiments, or the memory of those quarrels wherein he was engag'd; which is only, in other words, that I ought not to write his life at all. *For what, I pray, is the principal part of a learned man's life, but the exact history of his books and opinions, to inform the world about the occasion of his writing, what it contain'd, how he perform'd it, and with what consequences or success?* I have no reason from my own second thoughts, the opinion of better judges, or the fortune of the book, to be dissatisfi'd with my conduct on this occasion. And had this method, as I said before, been strictly observ'd, we might have more knowledge and fewer critics.

AY but, say these gentlemen, you have made an inroad on our persuasion, and directly attack'd the sacred majesty of kings, the venerable order of bishops, the best constituted church in the world,  
our

our holy liturgy, and decent ceremonies, the authority of councils, the testimony of the fathers, and a hundred other things which we profoundly respect and admire : nor are we the only sufferers ; for almost all other sects and parties have equal reasons of complaint against you. Well, be it so then ; but, good sirs, betake your selves for reparation to JOHN MILTON ; or, if he is not to be brought to easie terms, defend your castles and territories against him with all the vigor you can. For, I assure you, I am no further concern'd in the quarrel, than to shew you the enemy, and to give a true account of his forces. And all this, if you were of a peaceable disposition, you might learn from these plain words in the conclusion of the life : “ 'Tis  
 “ probable that you (as well as I, or any other)  
 “ may disapprove of MILTON's sentiments in several cases ; but I'm sure, you are far from being  
 “ displeas'd to find 'em particulariz'd in the history  
 “ of his life : for we should have no true account  
 “ of things, if authors related nothing but what  
 “ they lik'd themselves : one party would never  
 “ suffer the lives of TARQUIN, or PHALARIS, or  
 “ SYLLA, or CÆSAR to appear, while another  
 “ would be as ready to suppress those of CICERO,  
 “ of CATO, of TRAJAN, or BRUTUS. But a  
 “ historian ought to conceal or disguise nothing ;  
 “ and the reader is to be left to judg of the virtues  
 “ he should imitat, or the vices he ought to detest  
 “ and avoid.”

THIS might serve for a sufficient answer to all that has bin yet objected to MILTON's life, if any reply were thought necessary : For the trivial and  
 scurrilous

scurrilous libels of mercenary fellows I shall never regard, they being already sufficiently neglected by the world, and making themselves as little by this practice, as any of a more vindictive temper could desire: Besides, that to answer 'em in their own dialect, I must first learn to speak it; which is absolutely contrary to my genius, and below the dignity of human nature, since no body openly approves it even at *Billingsgate*. I shall as little consider the censorious tongues of certain more zealous than religious people, who judge of others by their own narrow schemes, and despise all knowledge in comparison of their privat imaginations, wherein they exceedingly please themselves; a happiness no body envies them. Nor should I, if that were all, think my self concern'd in making any return to the obliging complements of those gentlemen who (as father PAUL formerly said of himself) remember me oftner in their sermons than in their prayers; tho' som of them are apt to say, that when they mention *Turks, Jews, Infidels, and Heretics*, they do not forget me. But when I am openly accus'd before the greatest assembly in the world, the representative body of the people of *England*, let the charge be never so frivolous in it self, or to be slighted on any other occasion, yet such a respect is due to the dignity of those to whom it was exhibited, that I hold my self oblig'd to convince 'em of my innocence; and to remove all suspicion far from me, of what in its own nature is acknowledg'd to be criminal, or by them might be reputed indecent.



THE matter of fact is this: On the thirtieth of January, Mr. OFSPRING BLACKHALL, who styles himself *chaplain in ordinary to his majesty*, preacht a sermon before the honorable house of commons; wherein, after exclaiming against the author of MILTON's life, for denying *Icon Basilike* to be the production of king CHARLES the first, he pursues his accusation in these terms. "We may cease to wonder, says he, that he should have the boldness, without proof, and against proof, to deny the authority of this book, who is such an infidel as to doubt, and is shameless and impudent enough, even in print, and in a Christian country, publicly to affront our holy religion, by declaring his doubt, that several pieces under the name of Christ and his apostles [he must mean those now receiv'd by the whole Christian church, for I know of no other] "are supposititious; tho' thro' the remoteness of those ages, the death of the persons concern'd, and the decay of other monuments which might give us true information, the spuriousness thereof is yet undiscov'd." Here is indeed a charge of a very high nature, I will not say in his own mean language, an impudent and a shameless one; tho' if it be not better prov'd, I cannot hinder others from calling it what they please, or the thing deserves. But before I proceed to make observations on it, I shall insert the intire passage of my book, which he has taken the liberty of abridging, and so joining the words of two widely different assertions, as if they were but one. About this little artifice however I shall make

make no difference with him ; for I can easily determin our controversie, without using all the advantages I might otherwise take.

AFTER stating the proofs therefore that Dr. GAUDEN, and not king CHARLES, was the true author of *Icon Basilike*, I added a very natural observation in the following words. “ When I seriously consider how all this happen’d among our selves within the compass of forty years, in a time of great learning and politeness, when both parties so narrowly watch’d over one anothers actions, and what a great revolution in civil and religious affairs was partly occasion’d by the credit of that book, I cease to wonder any longer how so many supposititious pieces under the name of CHRIST, his apostles, and other great persons, should be publish’d and approv’d in those primitive times, when it was of so much importance to have ’em believ’d ; when the cheats were too many on all sides for them to reproach one another, which yet they often did ; when commerce was not near so general as now, and the whole earth entirely over-spread with the darkness of superstition. I doubt rather the spuriousness of several more such books is yet undiscover’d, thro the remoteness of those ages, the death of the persons concern’d, and the decay of other monuments, which might give us true information.” Here then in the first place it is plain, that, I say, a great many spurious books were early father’d on CHRIST, his apostles, and other great names, part whereof are still acknowledg’d to be genuin, and the rest to be forg’d, in neither  
of

of which assertions I could be justly suppos'd to mean any books of the New Testament, as I shall presently evince. But Mr. BLACKHALL affirms, That I must intend *those now receiv'd by the whole Christian church, for he knows of no other.* A cogent argument truly! and clearly proves his logic to be just of a piece with his reading. I admire what this gentleman has bin doing so long at the university, that he should be such a great stranger to these things. But now I find a man may be a very good divine without knowing any thing of the fathers, tho' a layman is always referr'd to 'em when he starts any difficulties, which makes him sooner acquiesce and swallow what he cannot chew than get information at so dear a rate. But had Mr. BLACKHALL been dispos'd to deal ingenuously with me, he might see, without the help of the fathers, that I did not mean the books of the New Testament, when I mention'd supposititious pieces under the name of CHRIST, since there is none ascrib'd to him in the whole Bible; nor do we read there that ever he wrote any thing, except once with his finger on the ground \*, when he acquitted the woman taken in adultery: And, for ought appears to the contrary, Mr. BLACKHALL may deny that to be any writing, because he knows not what it was; yet som *German* divines, as well read as himself, have presum'd to tell us the contents of it, and came almost to excommunicating one another in their solemn disputes about this weighty affair. To this negative argument from the silence of the New Testament, we may add the positive testi-

\* John viii. 5.



mony of St. AUGUSTIN and St. JEROM, whereof the former affirms, " That the Lord himself wrote \* nothing, which makes it necessary we should believe those who have written of him : " And the latter says, " That † our Saviour left no volum of his own doctrin behind him, as is extravagantly feign'd in most of the apochryphal pieces."

Now to convince all the world that I did not intend by those pieces the books of the New Testament, as well as to shew the rashness and uncharitableness of Mr. BLACKHALL's assertion, I shall here insert a large catalogue of books anciently ascrib'd to JESUS CHRIST, his apostles, their acquaintance, companions, and contemporaries. Of these som remain still entirely extant, which I shall mark in their places. We have several fragments of others preserv'd by the fathers ; and all that is left us of the rest are only their bare titles. I constantly refer to the books wherein they are quoted, that every body may inform himself of the fact. And after the catalogue is ended, I shall distinguish the books which the ancients alledg'd as the genuin works of the apostles or apostolic men, from those that they rejected as the forgeries of heretics ; which is a good argument however, that they were receiv'd by som party of Christians to countenance

\* Dicit Augustinus (de Consensu Evangel. l. 1. c. 7.) quod ipse Dominus nihil scripserit, ut aliis de illo scribentibus necesse sit credere.

† Salvator nullum volumen doctrinæ suæ proprium dereliquit, quod in plerisque apochryphorum deliramenta confingunt. Hieronym. in Commentar. ad Ezechielis, cap. 44.

their opinions. Next I design to name those pieces of whose spuriousness I doubted, tho' their authority is still receiv'd; and so conclude this point with som material observations.

*A Catalogue of Books mentioned by the Fathers and other Ancient Writers, as truly or falsely ascrib'd to JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles, and other eminent Persons.*

I. *Of Books reported to be written by CHRIST himself, or that particularly concern him.*

1. **H**IS Letter in answer to that of Abgarus King of Edessa. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. 1. 1. c. 13. You may also consult Cedrenus, Nicephorus, Constantinus Porphyrogenetus in the Manipulus of Combesisus, p. 79, &c. extant.
2. *The Epistle of Christ to Peter and Paul.* Augustin. contra Faustum, 1. 28. c. 13.
3. *The Parables and Sermons of Christ.* Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 1. 3. c. 39.
4. *A Hymn which Christ secretly taught his Apostles and Disciples.* Augustin. Epist. 253. ad Ceretium Episcopum.
5. *A Book of the Magic of Christ.* Augustin. de consensu evangelico, 1. 1. c. 9, 10. If it be not the same with the Epistle to Peter and Paul.

6. *A Book of the Nativity of our Savior, of the Holy Virgin his Mother, and her Midwife.* Gelasius apud Gratianum, Decret. 1. part. Dist. 15. c. 3. But I believe this is the same with the Gospel of *James*; whereof in its due order.

## II. MARY.

1. *An Epistle to Ignatius*: which is now extant among his works.
2. *Another Epistle to the Inhabitants of Messina*: to be read among the same *Ignatius's* works.
3. *A Book of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary*, usually publish'd with *St. Jerome's* works.
4. *Another Book about the Death of Mary*, is said by *Lambecius* to ly unpublish'd in the emperor's library, T. 4. p. 131.
5. We shall not insist on *the Book of Mary concerning the Miracles of Christ, and the Ring of King Solomon.*

## III. PETER.

1. *The Gospel of Peter.* Origen. T. 11. Comment. in Mat. Hieron. in Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. c. 1. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3, 25. Idem, l. 6. c. 12.
2. *The Acts of Peter.* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3. Hieronym. in Catalogo. Origen. Tom. 21. Comment. in Joan. Isidorus Pelusiota, l. 2. Epist. 99.
3. *The Revelation of Peter.* Clem. Alex. in Epitom. Theodot. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. l. 6. c. 14.



- c. 14. Idem, l. 3. c. 3. Hieron. in Catalogo, c. 1. Zozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 19.
4. *The Epistle of Peter to Clemens*, is still shewn in the *Æthiopic* language by the eastern Christians. Tilmont, Hist. Eccles. Tom. 1. part. 2. p. 497. And he has it from *Cotelerius*. *The Epistle of Clemens to James*, is publish'd in the *Clementines*.
5. *The Doctrine of Peter*. Origen, in præfat. ad libros principiorum. Gregor. Nazian. epist. 16. Elias Levita in notis ad Nazianzeni Orationem ad cives trepidantes.
6. *The Preaching of Peter* (if it be not the same with his doctrin.) Origen. Tom. 14. in Joan. Idem, in præfat. ad Libros principiorum. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1. & l. 6, &c. Lactant. l. 4. c. 21. Autor libri de baptismo Hæreticorum inter opera Cypriani. Joan. Damascen. l. 2. parallel. c. 16.
7. *The Liturgy of Peter*, publish'd by *Lindanus* at *Antwerp* in the year 1588, and at *Paris*, Anno 1595.
8. *The Itinerary, or Journys of Peter* (mention'd by Epiphanius, Hæres. 30. n. 15. and by *Athanasius* in his Synopsis of the Scriptures;) I believe to be the same with the Recognitions of St. *Clement* still extant, wherein we have a very particular account of *Peter's* voyages and performances.
9. *The Judgment of Peter*. Hieronym. in Catalogo, c. 1.

## IV. ANDREW.

1. *The Gospel of St. Andrew.* Gelasius in Decreto, &c.
2. *The Acts of St. Andrew.* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Epiphan. Hæres. 47. n. 1. Item, 61, 63, 47. Philastrius in Hæres. 8. Gelasius in Decreto; & Turribius Asturicensis apud Paschasium Quesnerum inter epistolas Leonis magni, P. 459.

## V. JAMES.

1. *The Gospel of St. James, or his Protoevangelion.* Origen, Tom. 11. Comment. in Mat. Epiphan. Hæres. 30. n. 23. Eustathius Antiochen. Comment. in Hexaemer. Epiphanius monachus in notis Allatii ad Eustathium. Multa ex hoc Evangelio mutuasse Gregorium Nyssenum, tacito Jacobi nomine, monet Allatius ibid. This book is now in manuscript in the library of Vienna, as is said by Lambecius, l. 5. p. 130. Father Simon says, he has seen two manuscript copies of it in the king of France's library. *Nouvelles Observations*, &c. p. 4. It was printed by Neander and also by Gryneus in the first volume of his orthodoxographs.
2. *The Liturgy of St. James* is printed in the second tomé of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, at Paris, Anno 1624.
3. We mention'd before *The Book of St. James concerning the Death of the Virgin Mary*; but there want

want not reasons to believe *John*, and not *James*, to be the author of it.

## VI. JOHN.

1. *The Acts of St. John.* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Epiphan. Hæres. 47. n. 1. Augustin. l. 1. contra adversarios legis & prophetarum. Turribii Scriptum inter Epistolas Leonis magni; & Phot. in codice 229.
2. Another Gospel of *John.* Epiph. Hæres. 30. n. 23.
3. *The Itinerary, or Voyages of St. John.* Gelasius in Decreto.
4. *The Liturgy of St. John.* It was together with several others printed in *Syriac* at *Rome*. See father *Simon* in his Supplement to *Leo of Modena*.
5. We spoke twice before of *St. John* or *St. James's Book about the Death of the Virgin Mary*.
6. The Traditions of *St. John.* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. ult.

## VII. PHILIP.

1. *The Gospel of St. Philip.* Epiphan. Hæres. 26. n. 13. Timotheus Presbyter a Combessio editus in tomo secundo Auctuarii.
2. *The Acts of St. Philip.* Gelasius in Decreto.

## VIII. BARTHOLOMEW.

1. *The Gospel of St. Bartholomew.* Hieronym. in prolegom. Com. in Mat. Dionysius Areopagita de Mystica Theologia, cap. 1.



## IX. THOMAS.

1. *The Gospel of St. Thomas.* Origen. in Homil. ad Luc. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Nicephor. in Stichometria. Ambros. in Comment. ad Luc. Augustin. contra Faustum, l. 22. c. 79. Cyril. Hierosolym. Catech. 4. 6. Gelasius in Decreto.
2. *The Acts of St. Thomas.* Epiphan. Hæres. 47. n. 1. Idem, Hæres. 61. n. 1. Augustin. contra Adimant. Idem, l. 1. de sermone Dei. Idem, contra Faustum, l. 22. c. 79.
3. *The Revelations of St. Thomas.* Gelasius in Decreto.
4. *The Itinerary of St. Thomas.* Gelasius in Decreto. Nicephor. in Stichometria.
5. *The Book of the Infancy of Christ by St. Thomas.* Epiphan. Hæres. 34. n. 18. Nicephor. in Stichometria. Gelas. in Decreto. Lambecius says, that this book lies in manuscript in the library of Vienna, Tom. 7. p. 20. Father Simon writes that there is a manuscript copy of it in the French king's library; *Nouvelles Observations*, &c. It was printed two years since in Latin and Arabic, with learned notes by Mr. Syke, at Utrecht.

## X. MATTHEW.

1. *The Liturgy of St. Matthew.* Tom. 27. Bibliothecæ Patrum Lugdunensis. Natalis Alex. in sæculo 1. part. 1. c. 11. art. 1. Gerardus, Tom. 1. Conf. Cathol. There is also a liturgy attributed to St. Mark,

## XI. THAD.

XI. THADDÆUS.

1. *The Gospel of St. Thaddæus.* Gelasius in Decreto.

XII. MATTHIAS.

1. *The Gospel of St. Matthias.* Origen. Homil. 1. in Luc. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Hieronym. in prolegom. ad Comment. in Mat. Ambros. in Comment. ad Luc. Gelas. in Decreto.
2. *The Traditions of St. Matthias.* Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 7.

XIII. PAUL.

1. *The Acts of St. Paul.* Origen. l. 1. c. 2. de Principiis. Idem, Tom. 21. in Joan. Euseb. l. 3. c. 3. Hist. Eccles. c. 25. Philastrius, Hæres. 88.
2. *The Acts of Paul and Thecla.* Tertullian. de Baptismo, c. 17. Hieronym. de Script. Eccles. in Paulo & Luca. Augustin. l. 30. contra Faustum, c. 4. Gelasius in Decreto. Nuper editus est hic Liber Oxonii. Epiphan. Hæres. 78. n. 16. Extant.
3. *The Epistle of Paul to the Laodiceans.* Tertullian adversus Marcion. l. 5. c. 17. Hieronym. in Catalogo, c. 5. Philastr. in Hæres. 88; Theodoret. Tom. 8. Hæres. 47. n. 9. & alibi. Legatur etiam Theophylactus. Extant.

4. *A third Epistle of Paul to the Thessalonians.* 2 Thes. 2. 2.
5. *A third Epistle to the Corinthians, and a second to the Ephesians.* 1 Cor. 5. 9. Ephes. 3. 3.
6. *The Epistles of Paul to Seneca, with those of Seneca to Paul.* Hieronym. in Catalogo, c. 12. Augustin. de Civitate Dei, l. 6. c. 10. Idem, in Epist. 54. ad Macedonium. Extant.
7. *The Revelation of St. Paul.* Epiphan. Hæres. 38. n. 2. Zozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 19. Augustin. Tract. 98. in Joan. Theophylact. in Schol. ad 2. ad Corinth. Mic. Glycas. annal. part. 2. Gelas. in Decreto. Zozomen. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 19.
8. *The Preaching of St. Paul.* Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 6. Lactant. l. 4. c. 21. Autor etiam Anonymus de non iterando Baptismo, à Rigaltio in observationibus ad Cyprianum insertus.
9. *St. Paul's Narrative concerning the charming of Vipers, reveal'd to him by St. Michael in a Dream.* Lambecius says, that there is now a manuscript of this book in the library of Vienna, Tom. 5. p. 103.
10. *The Anabaticon of Saint Paul, wherein he relates what he saw when he was snatch'd up into the third Heavens.* Epiphan. Hæres. 38. n. 2.
11. Some would infer from his own words, that he wrote a Gospel; *In the Day*, says he, *when God shall judge the Secrets of Men by Christ Jesus according to my Gospel.* Rom. 2. 16.



XIV. *Of the Gospels of Judas Iscariot, of Eve, and Abraham, &c.*

1. That none of the apostles might be thought unable to write a gospel, we find one alledg'd by the *Caianites*, a sect of the *Gnostics*, under the Name of *Judas Iscariot*. Epiphan. Hæres. 38. Theodoret. l. 1. de Hæret. Fabul. c. 15.
2. Nor should we wonder at *Judas's* being an author, when we read of the prophetical gospel of *Eve*, whom the *Gnostics* reckoned a patroness of their opinions, and to have receiv'd extraordinary knowledg and light in her conference with the serpent. Epiphan. Hæres. 26. n. 2.
3. The *Sethians*, another sort of *Gnostics*, shew'd an *Apocalypse* under the Name of the Patriarch *Abraham*; not to mention his learned pieces of astrology, nor the books of *Adam* believed by the *Jews*. Epiphan. Hæres. 30. n. 16. Isidor. Pelusiot. l. 2. Epist. 99.
4. *The Prophecy of Enoch*, which St. *Jude* quotes, is for the most part still extant, and was believ'd to be genuin by several fathers, who alledg it in defence of the Christian religion. Origen. contra Cels. l. 5. Idem de Principiis. Tertulian. de habitu Muliebri, c. 3, &c.
5. *The Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, the Assumption of Moses, the Book of Eldad and Medad, the Psalms of King Solomon, the Revelation of Zachary, and the Vision of Isaiab*; but I forget that I am reciting the spurious books of the Christians, and not of the Jews, who, when there's

there's occasion, will afford as large a catalogue.

XV. *Of the Gospels of the Hebrews and the Egyptians, with som general Pieces.*

1. *The Gospel of the twelve Apostles.* Origen. Homil. 1. in Luc. Ambros. in Proœm. Commentar. in Luc. Theophylact. Comment. in cap. 1. v. 1. secundum Lucam, &c. But this piece was, I believe, originally the same with
2. *The Gospel of the Hebrews.* Ignat. in Epist. ad Smyrnæos. Clem. Alex. l. 1. Stromat. Origen. tract. 8. in Matt. Idem, Homil. 14. in Jerem. & in Comment. ad Joan. Epiphan. Hæres. 30. n. 13, 22, &c. Hieronym. in Catalogo Script. Eccles. c. 4. & alibi passim. This gospel several have maintain'd to be the original of St. *Matthew*.
3. *The Gospel of the Egyptians.* Clem. Rom. Epist. 2. ad Corinth. c. 12. Clem. Alex. l. 3. Stromat. Id. ibid. Origen. Homil. in Luc. Epiphan. Hæres. 62. n. 2.
4. *The Apostles Creed*, tho' of late years it begins to be call'd in question.
5. *The Doctrine and Constitution of the Apostles.* Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25. Athanas. in Synopsi. Epiphan. Hæres. 80. n. 7. 45. n. 5. 70. n. 10. 75. n. 6. Idem in Compendiaria fidei expositione, n. 22. Incertus de Aleatoribus inter Scripta Cypriani. There are *Διδαχαὶ* and *Διδασκαλίας*, or doctrines, both attributed to every

every one of the apostles singly, and also to their companions and immediat successors, too long to insert particularly. These doctrines were bound with the other books of the New Testament, as appears by the *Stichometry* of *Nicephorus* and *Anastasius*; tho' it was not always pretended that they were original pieces, but rather collections of what the companions and successors of the apostles either heard, or pretended to hear from their own mouths.

6. We need not produce our authorities for the *Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles*, since so many learned members of the church of *England* have written large volums to prove 'em genuin.
7. *The Precepts of Peter and Paul*. This book lies in manuscript in the great duke's library in *Florence*, if we believe *Ludovicus Jacobus* a *Sancto Carolo*, in his *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, l. 1. p. 177.
8. The present *Coptic* Christians have a book of doctrines, which they believe was compos'd by the twelve apostles, with the assistance of *St. Paul*, &c.
9. *The Gospel of Perfection*. *Epiphan. Hæres. 26. n. 2.*
10. *The Acts of all the Apostles, written by themselves*. *Epiphan. Hæres. 30. n. 16. Isidor. Pelus. l. 2. Epist. 99. Varadatus in Epist. ad Leonem Imp. Tom. 4. Concil. Labbæi, col. 978. Jo. Malala, Chronograph. l. x.*
11. *The Itinerary of all the Apostles*, as well as of every one of 'em singly, was formerly extant.



**XVI. Of the Writings of the Disciples and Companions of the Apostles.**

Of the books ascrib'd to the disciples and companions of the apostles, and which are still extant, som are thought genuin and of great authority at this time : Every one were approv'd at som time, or by som party : And yet I am of opinion, that it is the easiest task in the world (next to that of shewing the ignorance and superstition of the writers) to prove them all spurious, and fraudulently impos'd on the credulous. Those I mean, are the Epistles of *Clemens Romanus* to the *Corinthians*, his *Recognitions*, *Decretals*, and other pieces bearing his name : All the Epistles of *Ignatius* ; The Epistle of *Polycarpus* to the *Philippians*, with his other writings ; The Acts of the Martyrdom of *Ignatius* and *Polycarpus* ; The Pastor of *Hermas* ; The Epistle of *Barnabas* ; The Works of *Dionysius the Areopagite* ; The Epistle of *Marcellus*, *Peter's* Disciple, to *Nereus* and *Achilleus*, and his Treatise of the Conflict of *Peter* and *Simon Magus* ; The Life of Saint *John*, by *Prochorus* ; The Petition of *Veronica* to *Herod* on the behalf of CHRIST ; The Passion of *Timothy* by *Polycrates* ; The Passions of *Peter* and *Paul* in two books by *Linus* ; The two Epistles of *Martial* of *Limousin*, and the Life of the same by *Aurelianus* ; The Gospel of *Nicodemus* ; The History of the Apostolical Conflict by *Abdias*, who is said to be appointed first bishop of *Babylon* by the apostles ;

apostles ; The Passion of Saint *Andrew* written by the presbyters of *Acbaia* ; The Epistle of *Evodius*, entitul'd *The Light* ; The Altercation of *Jason* and *Papiscus* ; The Acts of *Titus* compos'd by *Zena*, St. *Paul's* companion, with a multitude of other acts and passions. The Gospel of *Barnabas*, the Revelation of *Stephen*, the Passion of *Barnabas*, and the Epistles of *Joseph* the *Arimatbean* to the *Britons*, are quite lost ; and were they extant, would probably appear to be as foolish and fabulous as the rest.

XVII. Of Pieces alledg'd in Favor of Christianity, which were forg'd under the Name of Heathens.

1. The Works of *Trismegistus* and *Asclepius*. Extant.
2. The Books of *Zoroaster* and *Hystaspes*.
3. The *Sibyllin* Oracles cited so frequently, and with such authority, by the primitive fathers, that \* *Celsus* takes occasion from thence to nickname the Christians *Sibyllists*. Extant.
4. The Letter of *Pontius Pilat* to *Tiberius*, with the Speech of *Tiberius* to the Senat. Extant.
5. The Epistle of *Lentulus*, giving a Description of the Person of CHRIST. Extant.
6. The Epistles or Orders of *Adrian*, *Antoninus Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius*, in favor of the Christians. Extant in *Justin Martyr*, &c. &c. &c.

\* Origen. contr. Cels. l. 5.

HERE's a long list for Mr. BLACKHALL, who, 'tis probable, will not think the more meanly of himself for being unacquainted with these pieces ; nor, if that were all, should I be forward to think the worse of him on this account : but I think he is to blame for denying that there were any such, because he knew nothing of 'em ; much less should he infer from thence, that I deny'd the scriptures ; which scandal however, because manifestly proceeding from ignorance, I heartily forgive him, as every good Christian ought to do.

To explain now therefore the several members of the passage in MILTON's Life : In the first place, by the spurious pieces I meant, tho' not all, yet a good parcel of those books in the catalogue, which I am persuaded were partly forg'd by som more zealous than discreet Christians, to supply the brevity of the apostolic memoirs ; partly by designing men to support their privat opinions, which they hop'd to effect by virtue of such respected authorities : And som of 'em, I doubt, were invented by heathens and Jews to impose on the credulity of many wel-dispos'd persons, who greedily swallow'd any book for divine revelation that contain'd a great many miracles, mixt with a few good morals, while their adversaries laught in their sleeves all the while, to see their tricks succeed, and were rivetted in their ancient prejudices by the greater superstition of such enthusiasts.

In the second place, by the books of whose spuriousness I said the world was not yet convinc'd, tho' in my privat opinion I could not think 'em genuin,



genuin, I meant those of the other great persons, or the suppos'd writings of certain apostolic men (as they call 'em) which are at this present, as well as in ancient times, read with extraordinary veneration. And they are the epistle of BARNABAS, the pastor of HERMAS, the epistle of POLYCARPUS to the *Philippians*, the first epistle of CLEMENS ROMANUS to the *Corinthians*, and the seven epistles of IGNATIUS. These are generally receiv'd in the church of *Rome*, and also by most protestants; but those of the church of *England* have particularly signaliz'd themselves in their defence, and by publishing the correctest impressions of them. The ancients paid them the highest respect, and reckon'd the first four of 'em especially, as good as any part of the New Testament. The Epistle of BARNABAS is by \* CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, and ORIGEN, not only reckon'd genuin, but cited as scripture; tho' he says in exprefs terms, That *the Apostles, before their Conversion, were the greatest Sinners in Nature*; which, if believ'd, would rob us of an argument we draw from their integrity and simplicity against infidels, to say nothing now of the many other ridiculous passages in BARNABAS. The pastor, or visions, precepts, and similitudes of HERMAS (who is suppos'd to be the person mention'd by PAUL in his Epistle to the *Romans*) is cited as Canonical Scripture by † IRENÆUS, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, ORIGEN, and others, and was

\* Stromat. l. 2. & 5. contra Cels. l. 1. de Princip. l. 3.

† Advers. Hæres. l. 4. c. 3. Stromat. l. 1. 2. 4. 6. Princip. l. 1. c. 3. l. 2. c. 1. Homil. 10. in Hos. & alibi passim.

for such receiv'd by several churches, tho' I think it the sillyest book in the world. The Epistle of POLYCARPUS (the suppos'd disciple of St. JOHN) was read in the churches of *Asia*, and is quoted by \* IRENÆUS, EUSEBIUS and others. The Epistle of CLEMENS ROMANUS (whom they would have to be the same that's mention'd by PAUL in his Epistle to the *Philippians*) is cited by † IRENÆUS, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, ORIGEN, EUSEBIUS, and others. The Epistles of IGNATIUS are quoted by IRENÆUS ‡, EUSEBIUS, with several more; but particularly by || ORIGEN, who says, that in one of 'em he found it very elegantly written, That the *Virginity of MARY was a Secret to the Devil; which Virginity §, with her Delivery, and the Death of our Lord, IGNATIUS says, were Three famous Mysteries wrought in the Silence of God.* These words may be now read in the epistle of IGNATIUS to the *Ephesians*. Now these are the books of whose genuineness and authority I took the liberty to doubt, notwithstanding the better opinion which is entertain'd of 'em by others. My present business is not to insist on this subject, but to clear my self of an imputation, which I thought no body

\* L. 1. contr. Hæref. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 14. Phot. cod. 126.

† Contra Hæref. l. 3. c. 3. Stromat. l. 1, 4, 5, 6. De Princip. l. 2. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 16, 36. l. 4. c. 22, 23.

‡ Contra Hæref. l. 5. c. 28. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 36.

|| Homil. 6. in Luc.

§ Ἐλαθε τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας, καὶ ὁ τοκεὶς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ κυρίου, τρία μυστήρια κρυφῆς ἅτια ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ Θεοῦ ἐπεράχθη. Ep. ad Ephes.

could

could infer from my words. Yet since many were less knowing than I imagin'd, tho' Mr. BLACKHALL alone has the candor of publishing his weakness to the world, I assure 'em all that I alluded to these books; and I hope they will be just enough in allowing me best to explain my own meaning, and prove so tender of their own reputation, as to consider well of it, before they censure me another time.

BUT tho' I will not, as I said, enter now into a particular discussion of these writings, yet I shall offer one thing to the consideration of their defenders. Either they really believe the Epistles of BARNABAS and CLEMENS (for example) to be theirs, or to be supposititious. If not theirs, there's a speedy end of the dispute, and I have attain'd my end without more argumentation. But if they think 'em genuin, why do they not receive 'em into the canon of the scriptures, since they were the companions and fellow laborers of the apostles, as well as St. MARK or St. LUKE? If this quality was sufficient to entitle the two last to inspiration, why should it not do as much for the two first? And if this be not all the reason, pray let us know the true one, having never heard of any other. To say, that tho' the books are authentic, yet they ought not to be receiv'd now into the canon, because the ancients did not think fit to approve 'em, is but a mere evasion: For 'tis well known, that till after EUSEBIUS's time, neither the second Epistle of PETER, nor that of JAMES, or JUDE, with some others, were approv'd as canonical; and yet they were afterwards receiv'd by the whole church. Wherefore then may not we as well at this time



establish the Epistles of CLEMENS and BARNABAS, if they be undoubtedly theirs, which I shall be persuaded their patrons believe, when they quote 'em as scripture, and then I know where to have them, and how to deal with 'em. But of this enough.

I SAID above, that by the spurious pieces I meant only a great part of the books which are recited in the catalogue; for others of 'em do not seem to deserve so mean a rank: and I am so far from rejecting all those books of the New Testament which we now receive, that I am rather solicitous lest, as in the dark ages of popery, those we commonly call apocryphal books, were added to the Bible, so at the same time, and in as ignorant ages before, several others might be taken away, for not suiting all the opinions of the strongest party. Nor is it unworthy observation, that most of these books are condemn'd by the decree of pope GELASIUS. How many true and spurious gospels or histories of CHRIST were extant in St. LUKE's time, God knows; but that there were several may be evidently infer'd from his own words, who tells THEOPHILUS\*, that many had undertaken the same work before him, and, as if he alluded to some spurious relations, assures him, that he'll write nothing but what he receiv'd from such as had a perfect knowledg of those matters from the beginning. That there should be first and last, but just the number of four, I never heard of any that went about to demonstrat, except IRENÆUS the fam'd successor of the apostles; and he posi-

\* Luc. i. 1, 2, 3.

tively \* affirms, that there cannot be more, nor fewer than four gospels: "For, says he, there  
 " be four regions of this world wherein we live,  
 " with four principal winds, and the church is  
 " spread over all the earth: But the support and  
 " foundation of the church is the gospel, and the  
 " spirit of life: Therefore it must follow, that it  
 " has four pillars, blowing incorruptibility on all  
 " sides, and giving life to men." Then he corroborates his argument from the four cherubims, and the four faces in EZEKIEL's vision †, to wit, of a lyon, an ox, a man, and an eagle; which is the reason, by the way, why the four evangelists are painted with these emblems in the Mass-Book and in our Common-Pray'r-Book. So he concludes at last, "That they are all vain, unlearn'd, and impudent, who after this would assert, that there  
 " were more or fewer than four gospels." Where we may observe, that Mr. BLACKHALL has the warrant of an ancient father for giving hard names to such as condemn precarious reasoning: And indeed it is but too manifest to be deny'd, that no order of men have more violated the rules of de-

\* Firma & vera est nostra de illis ostentio; neque autem plura numero quam hæc sunt, neque rursus, pauciora capit esse evangelia. Quoniam enim quatuor regiones mundi sunt in quosumus, & quatuor principales spiritus, & disseminata est ecclesia super omnem terram; columna autem & firmamentum ecclesiæ est evangelium & spiritus vitæ; consequens est quatuor habere eam columnas undique stantes incorruptibilitatem, & vivificantes homines.—His igitur sic se habentibus vani omnes & indocti, & insuper audaces, qui frustrantur speciem evangelii: & vel plures quam dictæ sunt, vel rursus pauciores inferunt personas evangelii. *Adversus Hæres.* l. 3. 11.

† Ezek. vi. 6, 10.

cency and civility in their writings, than those whose business it is to teach others moderation, patience, and forgiveness; nor was there ever any cause more defended by the dint of calumny than that of religion, which least needed it of any other.

SEVERAL of these books whereof I now treat, are quoted to prove important points of the Christian religion by the most celebrated fathers, as of equal authority with those we now receive; and the testimony of these fathers was the principal reason of establishing these in our present canon, and is still alledg'd to that purpose by all that write in defence of the scriptures. Of so much weight is this testimony, that EUSEBIUS \* rejects the acts, gospel, preaching, and revelation of PETER from being authentic, for no other reason, but because no ancient or modern writer (says he) has quoted proofs out of them. But herein EUSEBIUS was mistaken; for the contrary appears by the testimonies markt in the catalogue, and which any body may compare with the originals. In another place he † says, That the gospels of PETER, THOMAS, MATTHIAS, and such like, with the

\* Τότε τῶν ἐπικλημένων αὐτοῦ πράξεων, καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν ὀνομασμένον εὐαγγέλιον, τότε λεγόμενον αὐτοῦ κήρυγμα, καὶ τὴν καλουμένην ἀποκαλύψιν, οὐτ' ὅλως ἐν καθολικοῖς ἴσμεν παραδεδομένα· ὅτι μήτε ἀρχαίων μήτε τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς τις ἐκκλησιαστικὴ συγγραφεὺς ταῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν συνεχρήσατο μαρτυρίαις. *Hist. Eccl.* l. 3. c. 3.

† Ἦτοι ὡς Πέτρον, καὶ Θωμᾶ, καὶ Μαθθία, ἢ καὶ τίνων παρὰ τούτους ἄλλων εὐαγγέλια περιεχούσας· ἢ ὡς Ἀνδρέου καὶ Ἰωάννου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀποστόλων πράξεις, ὧν οὐδὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐν συγγραμμάσι τῶν κατὰ διάδοχας ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τις ἀνὴρ εἰς μνήμην ἀγαγεῖν ἠξίωσεν. *Ibid.* c. 25.

acts



acts of ANDREW, JOHN, and the other apostles, are spurious, because no ecclesiastic writer, from the time of the apostles down to his own, has vouchsaf'd to quote them, which is absolutely false of som, as we have already shewn. So that Mr. BLACKHALL is not the only man, I find, who makes his own reading the measure of all truth; and a thousand to one but now he justifies this practice, since he can prove it from antiquity, and he has got the authority of so great a father on his side. Had EUSEBIUS found any of these pieces cited by the precedent orthodox writers, he would have own'd them as the genuin productions of the apostles, and admitted them (as we say) into the canon; but having met no such citations, he presently concluded there were none, which made him reject those books: And, I say, what I have already demonstrated, that proofs were quoted out of som of 'em long before, so that they might still belong to the canon for all EUSEBIUS.

To these considerations two objections may perhaps be made. First, It is unlikely, they'll say, that EUSEBIUS should not have read the ancients; nay, that the contrary appears by his many citations out of them; and that consequently those works of the fathers, which we have now in our hands, are not the same which were read in his time, or that at least they are strangely adulterated, and full of interpolations. With all my heart: But then let us not be urg'd by their authority in other points no more than in this, since in one thing they may as well be alter'd and corrupted as in another; and indeed, by a common rule of

equity (being found chang'd in som places). they ought to be so reputed in all the rest, till the contrary be evidently prov'd.

THE second objection is, That altho' these pieces have bin acknowledg'd to be the writings of those apostles whose names they bear, at certain times, and in som churches, yet they were expressly rejected by others. To this I answer, That there is not one single book in the New Testament which was not refus'd by som of the ancients as unjustly father'd upon the apostles, and really forg'd by their adversaries; which as no body thinks it now a good reason to disapprove them, so I see not how it should any more conclude against my opinion. But because the various sects of those early days did, like us, condemn one another for damnable heretics; and the admitting or refusing, the framing or corrupting of certain books, were som of the crimes which were mutually imputed, I shall now insist only on the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, that of JAMES, the second of PETER, the second and third of JOHN, the Epistle of JUDE, and the Revelation. These seven pieces were a long time plainly doubted by the \* ancients, particularly by those whom we esteem the soundest part; and yet they are receiv'd (not without convincing arguments) by the moderns. Now, I say, by more than a parity of reason, that the preaching and revelation of PETER (for example) were receiv'd by the ancients, and ought not there-

\* Let the third and twenty-fifth chapters of the Ecclesiastical History of *Eusebius*, lib. 3. be consulted, with what *St. Jerome* has written on the same subject.

fore to be rejected by the moderns, if the approbation of the fathers be a proper recommendation of any books.

THE council of *Laodicea*, which was held about three hundred and sixty years after CHRIST, and is the first assembly wherein the canon of scripture was establisht, could not among so great a variety of books as were then abroad in the world, certainly determin which were the true monuments of the apostles, but either by a particular revelation from heaven, or by crediting the testimony of their ancestors, which was always better preserv'd and convey'd by writing than by oral tradition, the most uncertain rule in nature, witness the monstrous fables of papists, rabbins, *Turks*, and the eastern nations both Christians and idolaters. But of any extraordinary revelation made to this council we hear not a word; and for the books I defend, I have the same testimony which is usually alledg'd in the behalf of others. However, I shall not be too hasty to make a final decision of this matter with my self, lest I incur the dreadful curse which the author of the Revelation \* pronounces against such as shall add or take away from that book. Let Mr. BLACKHALL be assur'd, that if he must needs have me to be a heretic, I am not unteachable, tho' I would not have it reputed obstinacy if I should not surrender without satisfactory reasons. Instead therefore of censuring and calumniating (which ought not to be reckon'd virtues in any order of men, and least of all in the ministers of the gospel)

\* Rev. xxii. 18, 19.



let such as are better enlighten'd endeavor to extricate the erroneous out of these or the like difficulties, that they may be able to distinguish truly, and that in such an extraordinary number of books, all pretending equally to a divine origin, they may have some infallible marks of discerning the proper rule, lest they unhappily mistake the false one for the true.

How necessary it is to have the canon of scripture set in its due light, we may learn from the ancient as well as our modern unbelievers. CELSUS \* exclaims against the too great liberty which the Christians (as if they were drunk, says he) took of changing the first writing of the gospel three, or four, or more times, that so they might deny whatever was urg'd against 'em as retracted before. Nay, as low down as St. AUGUSTIN's time, was there not a very considerable sect of the Christians themselves, I mean the *Manichæans*, who shewed other scriptures, and deny'd the genuineness of the whole New Testament. One of these call'd FAUSTUS, after shewing that his adversaries disapprov'd of several things in the Old Testament, thus pursues his † argument:

\* Τίνας τῶν πιστευόντων φήσιν (Κέλσος) ὡς ἐκ μέθης ἤκοντας εἰς τὸ ἰφιστάσθαι αὐτοῖς, μεταχαράττειν ἐκ τῆς πρώτης γραφῆς τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τριχῇ, καὶ τετραχῇ, καὶ πολλαχῇ, καὶ μεταπλάττειν ἵν' ἔχουν πρὸς τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἀρεῖσθαι. Origen. l. 2. contra Cels.

† Solius filii putatis testamentum non potuisse corrumpi; solum non habere aliquid quod in se debeat improbari: præsertim quod nec ab ipso scriptum constat, nec ab ejus apostolis: sed longo post tempore à quibusdam incerti nominis viris, qui, nè sibi non haberetur fides scribentibus quæ nescirent, partim apostolorum nomina, partim eorum qui apostolos secuti viderentur, scriptorum

gument: " You think, says he, that of all books  
 " in the world, the testament of the son only  
 " could not be corrupted, that it alone con-  
 " tains nothing which ought to be disallow'd ;  
 " especially when it appears, that it was neither  
 " written by himself nor his apostles, but a long  
 " time after by certain obscure persons, who, lest  
 " no credit should be given to the stories they told  
 " of what they could not know, did prefix to  
 " their writings partly the names of the apostles,  
 " and partly of those who succeeded the apostles ;  
 " affirming that what they wrote themselves was  
 " written by these : Wherein they seem to me  
 " (continues he) to have bin the more hainously  
 " injurious to the disciples of Christ, by attributing  
 " to them what they wrote themselves so dissonant  
 " and repugnant ; and that they pretended to  
 " write those gospels under their names, which are  
 " so full of mistakes, of contradictory relations  
 " and opinions, that they are neither coherent  
 " with themselves, nor consistent with one another.  
 " What is this therefore but to throw a calumny  
 " on good men, and to fix the accusation of dis-  
 " cord on the unanimous society of CHRIST'S  
 " disciples ?" The same FAUSTUS a little after  
 accuses his adversaries, who had power enough to

scriptorum suorum frontibus indiderunt, asseverantes secundum  
 eos se scripsisse quæ scripserint. Quo magis mihi videntur injuria  
 gravi affecisse discipulos Christi, quia quæ dissona iidem & repug-  
 nantia sibi scriberent, ea referrent ad ipsos, & secundum eos hæc  
 scribere se promitterentur evangelia, quæ tantis sint referta errori-  
 bus, tantis contrarietatibus narrationum simul ac sententiarum,  
 ut nec sibi prorsus, nec inter se convenient. Quid ergo aliud est  
 quam calumniari bonos, & Christi discipulorum concordem cætum  
 in crimen devocare discordiæ. *Augustin. contra Faust. l. 32. c. 2.*

be

be counted orthodox, in these express words :  
 “ Many \* things were foisted by your ancestors  
 “ into the scriptures of our Lord, which, tho’  
 “ mark’d with his name, agree not with his faith.  
 “ And no wonder, since, as those of our party  
 “ have already frequently prov’d, these things  
 “ were neither written by himself nor his apostles :  
 “ but several matters after their decease were pick’d  
 “ up from stories and flying reports by I know not  
 “ what set of Half-Jews ; and these not agreeing  
 “ among themselves, who nevertheless publishing  
 “ all these particulars under the names of the  
 “ apostles of the Lord, or of those that succeeded  
 “ them, have feign’d their own lyes and errors to  
 “ be written according to them.”

Since therefore the *Manichæans* rejected the whole New Testament, since the *Ebionites* or *Nazarens*, (who were the oldest Christians) had a different copy of St. MATTHEW’s gospel, and the *Marcionites*, had a very different one of St. LUKE’s ; since St. JOHN’s was attributed to CERINTHUS, all the Epistles of St. PAUL were deny’d by som, a different copy of ’em shewn by others ; and that the seven pieces we mention’d before, were rejected a long time by all Christians, almost with

\* Multa à majoribus vestris eloquiis Domini nostri inserta verba sunt, quæ nomine signata ipsius cum ejus fide non congruant ; præsertim quia, ut jam sæpe probatum à nobis est, nec ab ipso hæc sunt, nec ab ejus apostolis scripta : sed multa post eorum assumptionem à nescio quibus, & ipsis inter se non concordantibus Semijudæis, per famas opinionésque comperta sunt. Qui tamen omnia eadem in apostolorum Domini conferentes nomina, vel eorum qui secuti apostolos viderentur, errores ac mendacia sua secundum eos se scripsisse mentiti sunt. *Augustin.* ibid. l. 33. c. 3.



universal consent, it had much more become Mr. BLACKHALL's profession to appear better acquainted with these things, and commendably to spend his time in preventing the mischievous inferences which heretics may draw from hence, or to remove the scruples of doubting but sincere Christians, than so publicly to vent his malice against a man that never injur'd him, and who appears so little to deserve the imputation of incredulity, that his fault (if it be any) does rather consist in believing more scripture than his adversaries.

WHAT need had Mr. BLACKHALL to inform that august assembly how little he knew of the history of the canon? A history of the greatest importance, as well as containing the most curious enquiries; and without an exact knowledge whereof it is not conceivable that any man can be fit to convince gainsayers, or to demonstrat the truth of the Christian religion, which, I suppose, he will not think fit to deny is one of the principal duties of a minister. How little soever he knew before, he cannot be ignorant any longer that there were a multitude of other pieces attributed to CHRIST and his apostles, besides those now receiv'd by the whole Christian church. He might at his leisure have learnt so much from the fathers, or at least from others that had study'd 'em; such as RIVET, father SIMON, DU PIN, ITTIGIUS, Dr. CAVE, ERNESTUS GRABIUS, who has lately publish'd some of those fragments at *Oxford*, and several others; tho' he has occasion'd me to present him now with a much larger catalogue than was publish'd by any of these. I could add more not there mentioned,  
and

and other authorities for those which are there : but I have already don more than enough to prove a thing, whereof, till the last thirtieth of *January*, I thought few laymen wholly ignorant, much less any one of the clergy. Indeed I never thought the history of our canon so impartially handled, or so fully clear'd as a matter of such great importance deserves ; and I despair of Mr. BLACKHALL's giving the world any satisfaction in their doubts concerning it. But I hope som abler person of his order may particularly write on this subject ; which, if I see neglected also by them, I shall think it no intrusion on their office to undertake it my self : and if I ever write it, I promise it shall be the fairest history, and the only one of that kind that ever appear'd ; for I shall lay all the matters of fact together in their natural order, without making the least remark of my own, or giving it a color in favor of any sect or opinion, leaving all the world to judge for themselves, and to build what they please with those materials I shall furnish 'em.

I CONCLUDE this point with one observation, to shew with what malice I am treated by som people, while others pass with them for the most orthodox men in the world, who have said infinitely more in plain and direct words, than they could infer with all their art from a few expressions of mine, and which the most ignorant of my adversaries could make no more than insinuation at the worst. I talkt of spurious pieces, and have now as well shewn what those pieces were, as put a distinction between 'em, and such as I thought genuin. But let us hear what a person says, who, were he as  
much

much given to the world as many of his friends, would make a more considerable figure, considering his great services to the national church, and the respect he reciprocally receives from it; I mean the famous DODWELL, who alone, tho' a layman, understands as much of ecclesiastic history as the divines of all churches put together. His words are these: \* "The canonical writings lay conceal'd in the coffers of privat churches or persons, till the later times of TRAJAN; or rather perhaps of ADRIAN; so that they could not com to the knowledg of the church. For if they had bin publish'd, they wou'd have bin overwhelm'd under such a multitude as were then of apocryphal and supposititious books, that a new examination and a new testimony would be necessary to distinguish 'em from these false ones. And it is from this new testimony (whereby the genuin writings of the apostles were distinguish'd from the spurious pieces which went under their names) that depends all the authority which the truly apostolic writings have formerly obtain'd, or which they have at present in the catholic church. But this  
" fresh

\* Latitabant usque ad recentiora illa, seu Trajani, seu etiam fortasse Hadriani tempora, in privatarum ecclesiarum, seu etiam hominum scriniis scripta illa canonica, nè ad ecclesiæ catholicæ notitiam pervenirent. Aut si in publicum fortasse prodissent, adhuc tamen tanta scriptorum apocryphorum, pseudepigraphorumque turba obruebantur, ut ab iis internosci non possent, quin novo opus esset examine, novoque testimonio. Et ab illo novo testimonio, quo factum est ut ab apocryphis falsoque apostolorum nomine insignitis scripta eorum genuina distinguerentur, pendet omnis illa quam deinceps obtinebant, & quam hodièque obtinent in ecclesia catholica scripta vera apostolica, autoritas.

Atqui



“ fresh attestation of the canon is subject to the  
 “ same inconveniencies with those traditions of  
 “ the ancient persons that I defend, and whom  
 “ IRENÆUS both heard and saw: for it is equally  
 “ distant from the original, and could not be  
 “ made, except by such only as had reacht those  
 “ remote times. But 'tis very certain, that be-  
 “ fore the period I mention'd of TRAJAN's time,  
 “ the canon of the sacred books was not yet fixt,  
 “ nor any certain number of books receiv'd in the  
 “ catholic church, whose authority must ever after  
 “ serve to determin matters of faith; neither were  
 “ the spurious pieces of heretics yet rejected, nor  
 “ were the faithful admonisht to beware of them  
 “ for the future. Likewise the true writings of  
 “ the apostles us'd to be so bound up in one volum  
 “ with the apocryphal, that it was not manifest by  
 “ any mark or public censure of the church,  
 “ which of 'em should be prefer'd to the other.  
 “ We have at this day certain most authentic ec-  
 “ lesiastic writers of those times, as CLEMENS  
 “ ROMANUS,

Atqui recentior illa canonis attestatio iisdem erat incommodis  
 obnoxia, quibus & nostræ senum, quos vidit Irenæus audivitque,  
 traditiones; erat enim illa tanto intervallo ab origine remota,  
 nec plurimum esse poterat quam eorum qui etiam remotiora illa  
 tempora attigerant. Atqui certè ante illam epocham, quam dixi  
 Trajani, nondum constitutus est librorum sacrorum canon, nec  
 receptus aliquis in ecclesia catholica librorum certus numerus,  
 quos deinde adhibere oportuerit in sacris fidei causis dijudicandis,  
 nec rejecti hæreticorum pseudepigraphi, monitive fideles, ut ab  
 eorum usu deinde caverent. Sic autem vera apostolorum scripta  
 cum apochryphis in iisdem voluminibus compingi solebant, ut  
 nulla prorsus nota aut censura ecclesiæ publica constaret quæ qui-  
 bus essent anteferenda. Habemus hodièque horum temporum  
 scriptores ecclesiasticos luculentissimos Clementem Romanum,

Barna-

“ ROMANUS, BARNABAS, HERMAS, IGNATIUS,  
 “ and POLYCARPUS, who wrote in this same or-  
 “ der wherein I have nam’d ’em, and after all the  
 “ other writers of the New Testament, except  
 “ JUDE and the two JOHNS. But in HERMAS  
 “ you shall not meet with one passage, or any  
 “ mention of the New Testament : Nor in all the  
 “ rest is any one of the evangelists call’d by his  
 “ own name. And if somtimes they cite any  
 “ passages like those we read in our gospels, yet  
 “ you’ll find ’em so much chang’d, and for the  
 “ most part so interpolated, that it cannot be  
 “ known whether they produc’d them out of ours,  
 “ or som apocryphal gospels : nay, they somtimes  
 “ cite passages, which it is most certain are not in  
 “ the present gospels. From hence therefore it is  
 “ evident, that no difference was yet put by the  
 “ church between the apocryphal and canonical  
 “ books of the New Testament ; especially if it  
 “ be consider’d, that they pass no censure on the  
 “ apocryphal, nor leave any mark whereby the  
 “ reader

Barnabam, Hermam, Ignatium, Polycarpum, qui hoc nimirum scripserint, quo illos nominavi ordine, omnes reliquis novi testamenti scriptis (exceptis Judæ, & Joannis utriusque) juniores. At novi testamenti in Herma ne quidem unum locum inveneris. Apud reliquos nè unum quidem evangelistam nomine suo compellatum. Et si quos locos fortè proferant quibus similia in nostris leguntur evangeliiis ; ita tamen illos mutatos ut plurimum interpolatosque reperiens, ut sciri nequeat an è nostris illos, an ex aliis producerint apocryphis evangeliiis. Sed & apocrypha adhibent iidem aliquoties, quæ certum est in hodiernis non haberi evangeliiis. Ut inde constet nullum adhuc inter apocryphos canonicòque novi testamenti libros constitutum esse ab ecclesia discrimen, præsertim si & illa quoque accedat observatio quod censuram nullam apocryphis adjungant ; sed nec aliam aliquam no-

“ reader might discern that they attributed less  
 “ authority to the spurious than to the genuin  
 “ gospels : from whence it may reasonably be  
 “ suspected, that if they cite sometimes any pas-  
 “ sages conformable to ours, it was not don thro’  
 “ any certain design, as if dubious things were to  
 “ be confirm’d only by the canonical books ; so as  
 “ it is very possible that both those and the like  
 “ passages may have bin borrow’d from other  
 “ gospels besides these we now have. But what  
 “ need I mention books that were not canonical ?  
 “ when indeed it does not appear from those of  
 “ our canonical books which were last written,  
 “ that the church knew any thing of the gospels,  
 “ or that clergymen themselves made a common  
 “ use of ’em. The writers of those times do not  
 “ chequer their works with texts of the New  
 “ Testament, which yet is the custom of the mo-  
 “ derns, and was also theirs in such books as they  
 “ acknowledg’d for scripture ; for they most fre-  
 “ quently cite the books of the Old Testament,  
 “ and

tam unde possit lector colligere minus illos apocryphis tribuisse,  
 quam veris tribuerint evangelis. Inde prona est suspicio siqua  
 fortè loca produxerint cum nostris consentientia, nullo tamen  
 certo id factum esse consilio, quo constitutum fuerat res dubias è  
 canonicis esse confirmandas ; fierique adeo posse ut & illa similia  
 ex aliis tamen, quam quæ habemus, deprompta fuerint evangelis.  
 Sed quid ego libros memorem minimè canonicos ? Ne quidem è  
 canonicis ipsis recentioribus constat ecclesiæ innotuisse evangelia,  
 atque ecclesiasticis in usu fuisse vulgari. Non solent illius ævi  
 scriptores novi testamenti locis scripta sua velut opere tessellato  
 ornare, qui tamen recentiorum mos est, qui & suus erat in illis  
 quas agnoscebant ipsi scripturis : veteris enim testamenti libros  
 proferunt sæpissimè, prolaturi proculdubio & novi testamenti  
 scripta, si & illa fuissent in canonem recepta. Effatum Domini  
 nostri



“ and would doubtless have don so by those  
 “ of the New, if they had then bin receiv’d  
 “ as canonical. St. PAUL cites a saying of our  
 “ Lord in the Acts of the Apostles ; [Acts xx.  
 “ 35.] which, if he had it out of any writ-  
 “ ing, was not certainly out of those we now  
 “ have. The gospels continu’d so conceal’d in  
 “ those corners of the world where they were writ-  
 “ ten, that the latter evangelists knew nothing of  
 “ what the precedent wrote : otherwise there had  
 “ not bin so many apparent contradictions, which,  
 “ almost since the first constitution of the canon,  
 “ have exercis’d the wits of learned men. Surely  
 “ if St. LUKE had seen that genealogy of our  
 “ Lord which is in St. MATTHEW, he would not  
 “ himself have produc’d one wholly different  
 “ from the other, without giving the least rea-  
 “ son for this diversity. And when in the pre-  
 “ face to his gospel he tells the occasion of his  
 “ writing ; which is, that he undertook it, being  
 “ furnisht with the relations of such as were eye-  
 “ witnesses of what he writes, he plainly intimats,  
 “ that

nostri profert sanctus Paulus, Act. 20. 35. Illud si è scripto  
 aliquo produxit, non certè ex aliquo, quod habemus, evangelio.  
 Sic latuerant in illis terrarum angulis, id quibus scripta fuerant,  
 evangelia, ut nè quidem resciverint recentiores evangelistæ quid  
 scripissent de iisdem rebus antiquiores. Aliter foret nè tot  
 essent *ἑσθλοφάνη*, quæ ferè à prima usque canonis constitutione  
 eruditorum hominum ingenia exercuerint. Certè sanctus Lucas  
 si genealogiam illam Domini in Matthæo vidisset, non aliam ipse,  
 nihilque ferè habentem communè, produxisset, nè quidem minima  
 consilii tam diversi edita ratione. Et cum novæ scriptionis edit in  
 præfatione causam, quod ipse *αὐτοπλῶν* narrationibus adjutus eam  
 fuerit aggressus, id planè innuit destitutos hoc subsidio fuisse vi-  
 sorum à se evangeliorum auctores, ita nimirum non fuisse ipsos

“ that the authors of the gospels which he had  
 “ seen, were destitute of this help : so that neither  
 “ having seen themselves what they relate, nor  
 “ with any care or diligence consulted such as had  
 “ seen them, their credit was therefore dubious  
 “ and suspected ; whence it must necessarily fol-  
 “ low, that the writers of those gospels, which  
 “ LUKE had seen, were not at all the same with  
 “ our present evangelists.” So far Mr. DOW-  
 WELL ; and (excepting the genuineness of the epistles  
 of CLEMENS, BARNABAS, and the rest ; for they  
 are incontestably ancient) I agree with him that  
 the matters of fact are all true ; tho’ I am far from  
 drawing the same inference from ’em as he has  
 don, that there is an equal proof for episcopacy as  
 for the canon of scripture, which is the testimony  
 of the fathers of the second and third centuries ;  
 and that the disciplin was better known, and pre-  
 serv’d, than the doctrin of the apostles. Whoever  
 has an inclination to write on this subject is fur-  
 nish’d from this passage with a great many curi-  
 ous disquisitions, wherein to shew his penetration  
 and judgment, as how the immediat successors  
 and disciples of the apostles could so grossly  
 confound the genuin writings of their masters,  
 with such as were falsly attributed to them ;  
 or since they were in the dark about these mat-  
 ters so early, how came such as follow’d ’em by  
 a better light ; why all those books which are cited

*αὐτόπιας* ut nè quidem *αὐτόπιας* cum cura aliqua & sedulitate con-  
 suluerint, vacillare proinde meritòque dubiam eorum fuisse fidem ;  
 ut planè alios fuisse necesse sit evangelicæ historiæ scriptores à Luca  
 viſos, à nostris, quos habemus, evangelistis. *Dissert. 1. in Iren.*  
 §. 38, 39.

by CLEMENS and the rest should not be counted equally authentic; and what stress should be laid on the testimony of those fathers, who not only contradict one another, but are often inconsistent with themselves in their relations of the very same facts; with a great many other difficulties, which deserve a clear resolution from any capable person, tho' none may safely propose 'em but Mr. DOWELL, who I heartily wish were always as free and unprejudic'd as he is really learned.

THUS have I defended and explain'd my self against Mr. BLACKHALL's accusation: nor do I question but I have given entire satisfaction to all impartial men, and lovers of truth. But there's another sort of people whom I despair of ever contenting. These never fail of finding in the writings of their adversary, not what is there, but what they have a mind should be so, to represent him odious or dangerous. All the protestations in the world can signifie nothing with them; nor is it more safe than otherwise to prove the contrary of what is laid to one's charge; for they are sagacious enough to discover the hidden poyson of every word, and will be sure to give loud warning of the danger, to shew where the snake lies in the grass, and to tell what's in the belly of the *Trojan* horse. But I shall not be in great pain how such people apprehend me, if I have the happiness to please the moderat and discerning part of mankind.



THE COMPLEAT  
HISTORY  
OF  
ICON BASILIKE.

**M**R. BLACKHALL, who, by a public provocation, would needs engage me in a controverſie about ſpurious books, has not confin'd me to expoſe the impoſtures of antiquity alone, tho' it be pretty plain, that this is employment enough for one body ; but he likewise accuses me of not being more favorable to a modern *Saint*, as he is pleas'd to ſtile king CHARLES the firſt. “ That excellent  
“ book, which, he ſays, was compos'd by him-  
“ ſelf in the time of his diſtreſſes, will, he ſup-  
“ poſes, be an everlaſting evidence of his profit-  
“ ing under his ſufferings to after ages, notwith-  
“ ſtanding the endeavors that have bin formerly  
“ us'd to prove it ſpurious, and the confidence of  
“ a late writer (the author of MILTON's life)  
“ aſſerting it to be ſo, without either producing  
“ any new evidence for the proof of his aſſertion ;  
“ or offering one word in answer to thoſe juſt and  
“ rational exceptions that had bin made before  
“ to thoſe only teſtimonies which he inſiſts upon  
“ to prove it a forgery ; or making any exceptions  
“ to thoſe later evidences that have bin produc'd to  
“ prove it authentic.” Whether this book was

compos'd by himself is our business at present to enquire, and shall be quickly determin'd : for as to his improving by his sufferings I will not deny what I hope, and charity commands me to believe. The reason why I produc'd no new evidence to prove the spuriousness of *Icon Basiliæ* was, because I thought the old ones sufficient. I vouchsaf'd no answer to the exceptions made to those testimonies, because I neither thought 'em just nor reasonable. And I would not discuss the facts that have bin since alledg'd to prove the book authentic, because I intended not before to write a just dissertation on this subject, and so was not oblig'd to mention all the particulars relating to it. If Mr. BLACKHALL does not think this answer satisfactory, I shall make amends now for all former omissions ; and, being very desirous to content him, will follow that same method he was pleas'd to chalk me out in his sermon.

IN the first place therefore, to make this discourse complete, and that the evidence of the several parts whereof it consists, may the better appear by laying 'em all together, I shall here insert the abstract which I made of Dr. WALKER's book in MILTON's life, with ANGLESEY's *Memorandum*, and the other testimonies : I shall secondly give particular answers to the exceptions that have bin made to all these pieces : And lastly, shew the invalidity of the facts which are alledg'd to prove king CHARLES the first was the true author of *Icon Basiliæ*. I have not undertaken this work out of affection or opposition to any party, nor to reflect on the memory of that unfortunate prince, whose officious friends are much more concern'd ; but to

clear my self from a public charge, and to discover a pious fraud, which deserves not to be exemted from censure for being the contrivance of a modern bishop, no more than those of the ancient fathers of the church.

THE relation of the whole fact in MILTON's life is after this manner. " In the year 1686, " Mr. MILLINGTON hap'ning to sell the late lord " ANGLESEY's library by auetion, put up an *Ikon* " *Basilike*; and a few bidding very low for it, he " had leisure to turn over the leaves, when to his " great surprize he perceiv'd written with the " same noble lord's own hand, the following " *Memorandum*.

*KING CHARLES the second, and the duke of York, did both (in the last sessions of parlament, 1675. when I shew'd them in the lords house the written copy of this book, wherein are som correclions and alterations written with the late king CHARLES the first's own hand) assure me, that this was none of the said king's compiling, but made by Dr. GAUDEN bishop of Exeter: which I here insert for the undeceiving of others in this point, by attesting so much under my own hand,*

ANGLESEY.

" THIS



“ THIS occasion’d the world to talk ; and several  
“ knowing the relation which the late Dr. AN-  
“ THONY WALKER, an *Essex* divine, had to bishop  
“ GAUDEN, they inquir’d of him what he knew  
“ concerning this subject, which he then verbally  
“ communicated to them : But being afterwards  
“ highly provok’d by Dr. HOLLINGSWORTH’s harsh  
“ and injurious reflections, he was oblig’d in his  
“ own defence to print an account of that book,  
“ wherein are sufficient answers to all the scruples  
“ or objections that can be made, and whereof I  
“ here insert an exact epitome. He tells us in the  
“ first place, that Dr. GAUDEN was pleas’d to ac-  
“ quaint him with the whole design, and shew’d  
“ him the heads of divers chapters, with som  
“ others that were quite finish’d : and that Dr.  
“ GAUDEN asking his opinion of the thing, and he  
“ declaring his dissatisfaction that the world should  
“ be so impos’d upon, GAUDEN bid him look on  
“ the title, which was *The King’s Portraiture* ; for  
“ that no man is suppos’d to draw his own picture.  
“ A very nice evasion ! He further acquaints us,  
“ that som time after this, being both in *London*,  
“ and having din’d together, Dr. GAUDEN took  
“ him along with him to Dr. DUPPA the bishop  
“ of *Salisbury* (whom he made also privy to his  
“ design) to fetch what papers he had left be-  
“ fore for his perusal, or to shew him what he had  
“ since written : and that upon their return from  
“ that place, after GAUDEN and DUPPA were a  
“ while in privat together, the former told him  
“ the bishop of *Salisbury* wish’d he had thought  
“ upon

“ upon two other heads, the ordinance against the  
 “ Common-Pray’r-Book, and the denying his  
 “ majesty the attendance of his chaplains; but  
 “ that DUPPA desir’d him to finish the rest, and he  
 “ would take upon him to write two chapters on  
 “ those subjects, which accordingly he did. The  
 “ reason, it seems, why Dr. GAUDEN himself  
 “ would not perform this, was, first, that during  
 “ the troubles he had forborn the use of the li-  
 “ turgy, which he did not extraordinarily admire;  
 “ and secondly, that he had never bin the king’s  
 “ chaplain, whereas Dr. DUPPA was both his  
 “ chaplain, his tutor, and a bishop, which made  
 “ him more concern’d about these particulars.  
 “ Thirdly, Dr. WALKER informs us, that Dr.  
 “ GAUDEN told him he had sent a copy of *Icon*  
 “ *Basilike* by the marquiss of *Hartford* to the king  
 “ in the *Isle of Wight*; where it was, we may be  
 “ sure, that he made those corrections and altera-  
 “ tions with his own pen, mention’d in my lord  
 “ ANGLESEY’s *Memorandum*: and which gave oc-  
 “ casion to som then about him that had acciden-  
 “ tally seen, or to whom he had shewn the book,  
 “ to believe the whole was his own. Fourthly,  
 “ Dr. GAUDEN, after the restoration, told Dr.  
 “ WALKER, that the duke of *York* knew of his  
 “ being the real author, and had own’d it to be a  
 “ great service; in consideration of which, it may  
 “ be, the bishoprick of *Winchester*, tho’ he was  
 “ afterwards put off with that of *Worcester*, was  
 “ promis’d him. And, notwithstanding it was  
 “ then a secret, we now know that in expectation  
 “ of this translation, the great house on *Clapham*  
 “ common

“ common was built indeed in the name of his  
“ brother Sir DENYS, but really to be a mansion-  
“ house for the bishops of *Winchester*. Fifthly,  
“ Dr. WALKER says, that Mr. GAUDEN the  
“ doctor’s son, his wife, himself, and Mr. GIF-  
“ FORD who transcrib’d it, did believe it as firmly  
“ as any fact don in the place where they were;  
“ and that in that family they always spoke of it  
“ among themselves (whether in Dr. GAUDEN’s  
“ presence or absence) as undoubtedly written by  
“ him, which he never contradicted. We learn,  
“ Sixthly, that Dr. GAUDEN, after part of it was  
“ printed, gave to Dr. WALKER with his own  
“ hand what was last sent to *London*; and after  
“ shewing him what it was, seal’d it, giving him  
“ cautionary directions how to deliver it, which  
“ he did on *Saturday* the 23d of *December*, 1648:  
“ for Mr. ROYSTON the printer, to Mr. PEACOCK  
“ brother to Dr. GAUDEN’s steward, who, after  
“ the impression was finish’d, gave him, for his  
“ trouble, six books, whereof he always kept one  
“ by him. To these particulars Dr. WALKER  
“ adds, that the reason why the covenant is more  
“ favorably mention’d in *Ikon Basilike*, than the  
“ king or any other of his party would do, was  
“ because Dr. GAUDEN himself had taken it:  
“ That in the devotional part of this book there  
“ occur several expressions which were habitual to  
“ GAUDEN in his prayers, which always in privat  
“ and public were conceiv’d or extemporary; and  
“ that to his knowledge it was Dr. GAUDEN, be-  
“ ing best acquainted with the beauty of his own  
“ sayings, who made that collection of sentences  
“ out



“ out of *Ikon Basilike*, intituld, *Apophthegmata*  
 “ *Caroliniana*. These and som observations about  
 “ the same individual person’s variation of stile on  
 “ different subjects, with the facility and frequency  
 “ of personating others, may be further consider’d  
 “ in Dr. WALKER’s original account. In this  
 “ condition stood the reputation of this book, till  
 “ the last and finishing discovery of the imposture  
 “ was made after this manner. Mr. ARTHUR  
 “ NORTH, a merchant now living on *Tower-hill*,  
 “ *London*, a man of good credit, and a member  
 “ of the church of *England*, marry’d the sister of  
 “ her that was wife to the doctor’s son, CHARLES  
 “ GAUDEN, who dying, left som papers with his  
 “ widow, among which Mr. NORTH, being con-  
 “ cern’d about his sister-in-law’s affairs, found  
 “ a whole bundle relating to *Ikon Basilike*: These  
 “ papers old Mrs. GAUDEN left to her darling son  
 “ JOHN, and he to his brother CHARLES. There  
 “ is first a letter from secretary NICHOLAS to Dr.  
 “ GAUDEN. 2. The copy of a letter from bishop  
 “ GAUDEN to chancellor HYDE, where, among  
 “ his other deserts, he pleads that what was don  
 “ like a king, should have a kinglike retribution;  
 “ and that his design in it was to comfort and in-  
 “ courage the king’s friends, to expose his enemies,  
 “ and to convert, &c. There is, 3. The copy of  
 “ a letter from the bishop to the duke of *York*,  
 “ wherein he strongly urges his services. 4. A  
 “ letter under chancellor HYDE’s own hand, dated  
 “ the 13th of *March*, 1661. wherein he expresse  
 “ his uneasiness under the bishop’s importunity,  
 “ and excuses his inability yet to serve him: but  
 “ towards

“ towards the conclusion it contains these remark-  
 “ able words : *The particular you mention has in-*  
 “ *deed bin imparted to me as a secret ; I am sorry I*  
 “ *ever knew it : and when it ceases to be a secret, it*  
 “ *will please none but Mr. MILTON.* There are  
 “ other papers in this bundle, but particularly a  
 “ long narrative of Mrs. GAUDEN’s own writing,  
 “ irrefragably shewing her husband to be author of  
 “ *Ikon Basilike.* It intirely confirms Dr. WALKER’s  
 “ account, and contains most of the facts we have  
 “ hitherto related, with many other curious cir-  
 “ cumstances too long to be here inserted, yet too  
 “ extraordinary not to be known ; wherfore I re-  
 “ fer the reader to the original paper, or to the  
 “ faithful extract made out of it before several  
 “ learned and worthy persons, and which is printed  
 “ in a paper intitul’d, *Truth brought to Light.* Thus  
 “ came all the world to be convinc’d of this notori-  
 “ ous imposture ; which as it was dexterously con-  
 “ triv’d, and most cunningly improv’d by a party  
 “ whose interest oblig’d ’em to keep the secret, so it  
 “ happen’d to be discover’d by very nice and unfore-  
 “ seen accidents. Had not GAUDEN bin disappoint-  
 “ ed of *Winchester*, he had never pleaded his merit in  
 “ this affair ; nor would his wife have written her  
 “ narrative, had king CHARLES the second be-  
 “ stow’d one half years rent on her after her hus-  
 “ band’s decease ; which, upon her petition, and  
 “ considering her numerous family, none could  
 “ imagin should be refus’d. It was a slighter ac-  
 “ cident that begot a confession from two kings,  
 “ and CHARLES’s own sons. And I doubt if any  
 “ other than one of Mr. MILLINGTON’s great  
 “ curiosity,

“curiosity, and no bigotry, had the disposal of my  
 “lord ANGLESEY’s books, we should never have  
 “heard of the *Memorandum*. Had not Dr. HOL-  
 “LINGWORTH’s indiscreet zeal provok’d the only  
 “man then alive who had any personal knowledg of  
 “this business, Dr. WALKER had never publish’d  
 “his account; nor would the whole discovery be  
 “so complete, without the least intricacy or ques-  
 “tion, without Mr. NORTH’s papers.”

THIS is the complete history of *Icon Basiliæ*, as it is suppos’d to be a forgery; and we must next proceed to examin the exceptions made to it, as they are collected by Mr. WAGSTAF in his *Vindication of King CHARLES the Martyr*. To begin with my lord ANGLESEY’s *Memorandum*, ’tis urg’d, that it does not particularly express by the date whether it meant the last session of parliament before the writing of it, or the last session of the year 75. when it is plain that he meant the last or winter session; and that it was therefore the immediat session preceding the writing of this *Memorandum*. To say that there is no witness to it is a very singular sort of objection, when his lordship’s relations, and all that have seen this and his other writings, own it to be his hand. It is not likely that there were any witnesses of the royal brothers telling him their opinion of *Icon Basiliæ*: nor is there any thing more common than for learned or great men to leave such *Memorandums* in a book concerning the author of it when it was a question, or about any other secret relating to it, which they thought they had discover’d; and yet ’tis a thing unheard till now,  
 that



that they were deny'd to be theirs whose names they bear, because the day of the month was not mention'd, nor the names of any witnesses added, when the hand was confest to be the same with their other writings. Many instances of this kind appear in the books of Mr. HAMDEN lately sold, and whereof I have som to shew, as in the book intitul'd *Apollonii grallæ*, he writes, that LANSBERGIUS was the author of it, of whom he there gives a character.

It is no just exception to this *Memorandum*, that my lord ANGLESEY did not communicat the contents of it to any of his friends or relations : for tho' the two royal brothers imparted the secret to him, it does by no means follow, that they intended he should publish it to the world. And supposing they did not oblige him to silence, yet 'tis probable that his lordship was not very fond of being disturb'd by the clamors of som churchmen, who carry'd things so high at that time, that I do not believe they would pardon such a discovery to either of the brothers themselves. There was never any poor prince more notoriously abus'd by many of those he took for his best friends than CHARLES the first. They put him on all those unhappy measures which prov'd his ruin in the end. And as they made use of his temper to serve their own purposes when he was alive, so they did of his name for the same reason after his death. They were not concern'd so much for his honor, as their own interest ; and having contriv'd this forgery to carry their cause, they thought themselves afterwards oblig'd to support it. Mr. WAGSTAF affirms that there is no presumption that the royal brothers

brothers communicated this affair to any other person besides my lord ANGLESEY, which is a negative argument, and proves nothing. 'Tis possible enough that my lord ANGLESEY himself told of this to others, tho' they may be since dead, or are not willing to tell it again. If the royal brothers had spoke of it to no body else, it follows not that a secret was never committed to one, because it was not to more! as if it were necessary for a man to call witnesses that he imparted a secret to his friend. But we shall presently alledge more than a presumption, that both king CHARLES the second and the late king JAMES declar'd their opinion to other people besides my lord ANGLESEY, that *Icon Basilike* was not their father's book.

By such nice cavils against the *Memorandum* we can easily judg of the exceptions we may expect to Dr. WALKER's account. That GAUDEN hop'd to make a fortune by this book, as well as to promote the cause of the church, ought by no means to be counted strange; for who is it, pray, that serves the king any more than God, for nought? Have not most of the bishops and other clergymen of those times, that either liv'd depriv'd here in *England*, or that accompany'd CHARLES the second in his exile, pleaded their loyalty, and magnify'd their services at the restoration, as many others would questionless do, if king JAMES should ever return again? Were not great persons employ'd to solicit and make an interest for them? And, in a word, are not divines observ'd to make the same steps, and take the same measures that all other sorts of men do to get preferment. I should rather

ther doubt that Dr. GAUDEN was not the author of this forgery, if he had not expected a reward for it from CHARLES the second; for 'tis certain, that the credit of *Icon Basiliæ* contributed more to his establishment than any other single motive whatsoever. But 'tis well known that this prince was not the kindest in the world to his father's friends, who would too often forget his own; and that it was not the interest of some people to have this business unravell'd, tho' their impolitic conduct has bin since the occasion of divulging what every body suspected before.

THE immorality of this forgery is urg'd as an argument against it; and, if it could by any means hold water, is indeed an argument worth a million. Then it would clearly follow, that because it was a most immoral thing to ly for God, and to forge books, epistles, or the like, under the names of CHRIST and his apostles, there were therefore never any such pieces; and that because it was an ill thing to feign miracles, or to destroy mens lives for the advancement of religion, there never was therefore any priestcraft, nor any of these infamous practices known in the world. But if the contrary be as clear as the day, I believe men might be found that would make as bold with the name of king CHARLES, as others have don with that of king JESUS. Mr. WAGSTAF knows, tho' Mr. BLACKHALL does not, that TERTULLIAN tells us \* of a certain presbyter of *Asia*, who when he was accus'd of having forg'd a book containing

\* De Baptismo, c. 17. etiam Hieronym. in Catalogo Scriptor. Eccles.



the travels of PAUL and THECLA, confest the fact, and alledg'd that he did it for the love of PAUL; and I say, that Dr. GAUDEN wrote *Icon Basiliæ* for the church's sake, the king's, and his own.

As for the plausible accounts given in that book of the king's secret intentions, his particular troubles, his remorse of conscience, and the like, it is very ridiculous to alledge 'em as an argument of the genuineness of it, when the book was written for that very end. For the design of the author was to give such a color to all the king's actions, and to tell such fine things of his gracious purposes, as would beget a better opinion of him in the reader's mind, and move his indignation against the parliament, or compassion of his misfortunes. But that Dr. GAUDEN has frequently made the king's thoughts to contradict his actions, is evident to any man that has both read *Icon Basiliæ*, and the history of those times: And this subject is thro'ly handled by JOHN MILTON in his *Iconoclastes*, to which I refer those who want satisfaction.

BUT there is an objection still behind, and as strong, be sure, as any of the rest, which is that Dr. WALKER did not see Dr. GAUDEN write this book, nor tells us that it was in his own hand. But I believe Mr. WAGSTAF is the only man living that questions whether Dr. WALKER meant Dr. GAUDEN's own writing, when he says, that before the whole was finisht Dr. GAUDEN was pleas'd to acquaint him with his design, and shew him the heads of diverse chapters, with som of the discourses written of them, and that Mr. GIFFORD transcrib'd a copy of it. This is all that can be said

said of any author in the world : and if Dr. WALKER had said more expressly, or rather superfluously, that it was likewise Dr. GAUDEN's handwriting, we should then have bin told, that it was a transcript from the king's copy in the hands of Mr. SYMMONDS, of which more hereafter.

WE proceed now to those pieces commonly call'd *Mr. NORTH's Papers*, he being the discoverer. Chancellor HYDE, in his letter to Dr. GAUDEN, tells him, as was said before, " That the particular " he mention'd had indeed bin imparted to him as " a secret, which he was sorry he ever knew; and " that when it ceast to be a secret, it would please " none but Mr. MILTON." Was there no other secret in the world but this, says Mr. WAGSTAR, that the divulging of it would gratify Mr. MILTON? Yes doubtless; but I believe not one that would please none but Mr. MILTON, as the chancellor expresses it : For he having particularly question'd the genuineness of this book, and offer'd a fair proof of the spuriousness thereof from intrinsic evidence only, without any further light; would be extremely pleas'd to find his reasonings and judgment confirm'd by undeniable matters of fact. Nor does any indifferent person in the world understand this passage otherwise that weighs Dr. GAUDEN's pretences with Mr. MILTON's concern, and considers that Mrs. GAUDEN put this and the other papers relating to *Icon Basilike* in one bundle, together with her own narrative, for the information of her son. Besides that, all those who ever saw other writings of the chancellor own this to be his hand, and particularly his eldest son, the pre-

sent earl of CLARENDON, as Mr. WAGSTAF himself acknowledges.

BUT he says, "That my lord CLARENDON, (from whom he had it in a letter) by leave of the king and queen preparing to attend his father in *France* in the beginning of the summer, 1674. his lordship went first to *Farnham* to the late bishop of *Winton* the 14th of *May*, and among several things he had in charge from the bishop to his father, he bad him tell him, that the king had very ill people about him, who turn'd all things into ridicule; that they endeavor'd to bring him to have a mean opinion of the king his father, and to persuade him that he was not the author of the book which goes under his name. And (when after his lordship's arrival in *France*, the 30th of the same month, he had deliver'd his father these particulars among others) to that concerning the book, his father reply'd, *Good God! I thought the marquiss of Hartford had satisfy'd the king in that matter.*" From hence Mr. WAGSTAF would infer, that my lord chancellor did not believe any other besides CHARLES the first to be the author of *Icon Basilike*, and that he wondred any should go about to induce CHARLES the second to question it. But for my part I think it very plain on the contrary, that he believ'd king CHARLES the first not to be the author of that book, and wondred that king CHARLES the second should not understand so much from the marquiss of *Hartford*, who, as Dr. WALKER and Mrs. GAUDEN inform us, was the person that carry'd the manuscript to the



the king in the *Isle of Wight*, and so, next to Dr. GAUDEN himself, was best able to convince his son of the truth. Moreover, how could the bishop of *Winton* imagin that the ill people about CHARLES the second could bring him to doubt of his father's being the author of *Icon Basilike*, if he really knew it to be written by him? when upon this supposition he was rather capable of satisfying all those who had any scruples in this affair.

'As for Dr. GAUDEN's great services, and his saying in a letter to the chancellor, "That what " was don like a king, should have a kinglike retribution," Mr. WAGSTAF says, that those are mystical expressions, and that by them he might probably mean a book he wrote against the *covenant*, and a *protestation* he publisht against the king's death, neither of which could be term'd such extraordinary services, when many others had don the same, and more: much less could it be said that either of these books was *don like a king*, or *deserv'd a kinglike retribution*; whereas Mr. WAGSTAF, and those who are of his opinion, maintain that the stile and matter of *Icon Basilike* are so like a king's, that no subject could possibly write it: but a multitude of others agree with me, that the stile is infinitely liker that of a doctor than a king.

LASTLY, It is objected that Dr. WALKER's and Mrs. GAUDEN's testimonies contradict one another. But how? Dr. WALKER says, that Dr. GAUDEN told him he did not know if CHARLES the first had

seen the book : but Mrs. GAUDEN affirms, that the marquiss of *Hartford* told her husband the king had seen and approv'd it, both which assertions are consistent enough together. For Dr. GAUDEN might be ignorant that the king had seen it, when Dr. WALKER askt him that question, who perhaps never mention'd it to him again in their discourses about this matter, or might easily forget it, as he says he did several other particulars, little foreseeing he should ever be oblig'd to make this discovery : and besides we must upon all accounts allow his wife to know more circumstances of this business, as of most others, than his friend. The next suppos'd contradiction is, that Dr. WALKER says Dr. GAUDEN once told him, after the restoration, that he did not positively and certainly know if king CHARLES the second knew he wrote *Icon Basilike*, tho' he believ'd he might, because the duke of *York* did, who own'd it to have bin a seasonable and acceptable service. But Mrs. GAUDEN affirms, that her husband acquainted the king with it himself, which is very true. But pray let us examine at what time. After his discourse with Dr. WALKER most certainly. For does she not in clear and direct terms say, that it was in his last sickness, which prov'd mortal to him ; and that the reason of it was, because he saw som persons who were privy to it desire nothing more than to have it conceal'd, which he was not willing it should be in consideration of his numerous family, to whom it might sometime or other do seasonable service ?

Now

Now that no mistakes may be occasion'd hereafter by imperfect fragments of Mrs. GAUDEN's narrative, and that this affair may be set in the clearest light, I shall, before I proceed to the examination of the positive testimonies produc'd for the king, insert the narrative here at large, as it was exactly copy'd from the original, to which the curious are refer'd.

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Mrs. GAUDEN'S  
NARRATIVE.

“ MY husband understanding the great value  
 “ and esteem the people had of CROMWELL  
 “ and of others in the army, occasion’d by the  
 “ high opinion which they had of their parts, and  
 “ piety ; he being also well assur’d, that one of  
 “ the main designs of those wicked politicians,  
 “ was to eclipse his majesty that then was, as much  
 “ as might be, and to give a false misrepresenta-  
 “ tion of him to the world ; he, that he might  
 “ do his majesty right, did pen that book which  
 “ goes by the name of the king’s book. The  
 “ title which he gave it then was *Suspiria Regalia*;  
 “ and the design was to have it put forth as by  
 “ som person who had found the papers in his  
 “ majesty’s chambers at *Holmeby*, being by chance  
 “ left or scatter’d there. And to this purpose he  
 “ had prefix’d an epistle, which might be sup-  
 “ pos’d to be written by that person, who having  
 “ found them by that accident, thought it not fit  
 “ to conceal them. His design also in the book,  
 “ was to give such a character of her majesty to the  
 “ world, as her great worth, extream merits, and  
 “ admirable endowments deserv’d. When my hus-  
 “ band had writ it, he shew’d it to my lord CAPEL,  
 “ who did very highly approve of it ; and though  
 “ he

“ he thought it would do very well to have it  
“ printed, yet he said it was not fit to do so with-  
“ out his majesty’s approbation; and to come to  
“ speak to his majesty in private was then impossi-  
“ ble, in regard of the strict guard which they  
“ kept about him. Immediately after this there  
“ was a treaty with his majesty at the *Isle of Wight*,  
“ whereupon my husband went to my lord mar-  
“ quiss of *Hartford* that then was, and to him de-  
“ liver’d the manuscript, and he deliver’d it to  
“ the king at the *Isle of Wight*, and likewise told  
“ him who the author was. When my lord mar-  
“ quiss return’d, my husband went to him, to  
“ whom my lord said, That his majesty having  
“ had some of those essays read to him by bishop  
“ DUBBA, did exceedingly approve of them, and  
“ asked whether they could not be put out in some  
“ other name. The bishop reply’d, that the de-  
“ sign was, that the world should take them to be  
“ his majesty’s. Whereupon his majesty desir’d  
“ time to consider of it; and this (says my lord)  
“ is all the account I can give of it: What is be-  
“ come of the manuscript I know not, and what  
“ will become of his majesty God knows. Upon  
“ this my husband told my lord marquiss, That,  
“ in his opinion, there was no way so probable to  
“ save his majesty’s life, as by endeavouring to  
“ move the hearts and affections of the people as  
“ much as might be towards him; and that he  
“ also thought that that book would be very  
“ effectual for that purpose. Then my lord bad  
“ my husband to do what he would, in regard the  
“ case was desperate. Then immediately my  
“ husband

“ husband resolv’d to print it with all speed that  
“ might be, he having a copy of that which he  
“ sent to the king, and that he printed was just  
“ the same, only he then added, the *Essay* upon  
“ their denying his majesty the attendance of his  
“ chaplains, and the *Meditation of Death*, after  
“ the votes of the non-addresses, and his ma-  
“ jesty’s close imprisonment at *Carisbrook Castle*.  
“ Now the instrument which my husband em-  
“ ploy’d to get it printed, was one Mr. SIMMONDS,  
“ a divine, and a great sufferer for his majesty;  
“ and he got one Mr. ROYSTON to print it;  
“ which ROYSTON never knew any thing but that  
“ it was of his majesty’s own penning: my hus-  
“ band did then alter the title of it, and call’d  
“ it *Icon Basilike*. Now when it was about half  
“ printed, they, who were in power, found the  
“ press where it was printing, and likewise a let-  
“ ter of my husband’s, which he sent up to the  
“ press; whereupon they destroy’d all that they  
“ then found printed, but could not find out from  
“ whence the letter came, in regard it had no  
“ name to it. Notwithstanding all this, my hus-  
“ band attempted the printing of it again, but  
“ could by no means get it finish’d till some few  
“ days after his majesty was destroyed. When it  
“ was com out, they who were then in power  
“ were not only extremely displeas’d at it, but also  
“ infinitely solicitous to find out the author of it,  
“ thinking it very improbable that his majesty  
“ should write it, in regard of the great distur-  
“ bances and troubles which for many years he  
“ had suffer’d; or at least impossible that he should  
“ have



“ have writ it all ; for after the attendance of his  
“ chaplains was deny'd him, and he a close pri-  
“ soner, they well understood that he could not  
“ write any thing without their discovery. They  
“ also took that very manuscript which my hus-  
“ band had sent his majesty, and saw that it was  
“ none of his majesty's hand-writing. Upon this  
“ they appointed a committee to examin the busi-  
“ ness ; of which my husband having notice, he  
“ went privatly in the night away from his own  
“ house to Sir JOHN WENTWORTH's, who liv'd  
“ near *Yarmouth*, and him he acquainted with the  
“ business, and the great danger he was then in :  
“ when Sir JOHN did not only promise to conceal  
“ him, but also to convey him out of *England*, it  
“ being in his power to give passes to go beyond  
“ sea. About this time Mr. SYMMONDS was taken  
“ in a disguise ; but God in his providence so or-  
“ der'd it, that he sickned immediatly, and dy'd  
“ before he came to his examination : nor could  
“ the committee find out any thing by any means  
“ whatever ; which alter'd my husband's resolu-  
“ tions of going out of *England*. Now, besides  
“ these circumstances, to assert the truth of what  
“ I say, I can produce som letters, which, I am  
“ sure, will put it out of all dispute. My hus-  
“ band continu'd at *Bocking* till the return of his  
“ majesty king CHARLES the second ; and upon  
“ his restoration, knowing his princely disposition,  
“ did not unjustly expect a suitable reward for his  
“ endeavors to serve his majesty's father and  
“ himself in that book. And meeting with Dr.  
“ MORLEY, he fell into discourse how sensible  
“ he

“ he was of the great service which he had don his  
“ present majesty and the royal family, in composing  
“ and setting forth that excellent piece, call’d *The*  
“ *King’s Book*; and also assur’d him, that it had  
“ bin very effectual not only at home, but abroad,  
“ to move the hearts and affections of people to-  
“ wards his majesty, instancing in several persons  
“ who were most exceedingly affected with it; and  
“ so advantageous he said it had bin to his ma-  
“ jesty, that according to his great merit, he might  
“ have what preferment he desir’d. Dr. MORLEY  
“ also told him, That he had acquainted Sir  
“ EDWARD HYDE with the business, and that he  
“ did very much commend and admire it: but  
“ we have not (said he) acquainted his majesty  
“ with it, but did assure him, that his majesty did  
“ set a high value upon the book, and had com-  
“ manded Dr. EARL to translate it into *Latin*; som  
“ having taken the pains to put it into other lan-  
“ guages before. My husband being encouraged  
“ by this discourse of Dr. MORLEY’s, and shortly  
“ after meeting with Dr. SHELDON (who he knew  
“ was not ignorant that he was the only author of  
“ the foremention’d book) he told Dr. SHELDON,  
“ that since he had bin inform’d that his majesty,  
“ out of his princely disposition, would (without  
“ doubt) when once acquainted with it, reward  
“ that service which he had endeavor’d to do his  
“ father and himself; he thought it most conve-  
“ nient for himself, and also that he might be ser-  
“ viceable to his majesty in the diocess of *London*,  
“ (a place where he was well known) if it would  
“ please his majesty to make him bishop of that  
“ see.

“ see. Dr. SHELDON was pleas’d, with a great  
 “ deal of gravity, to tell him that was a great leap  
 “ at first. Whereupon my husband desisted, and  
 “ was resolv’d to leave his preferment to God’s  
 “ dispose. Soon after this, the king being still  
 “ ignorant of what he had done, he was, by the  
 “ mediation of a person perfectly ignorant of his  
 “ merit as to this matter, made bishop of *Exeter*;  
 “ all the considerable bishopricks being otherwise  
 “ dispos’d of. Not long after this it pleas’d God  
 “ to visit my husband with an infirmity, which he  
 “ had great cause to fear would (as it did) prove  
 “ mortal to him. This made him resolve to ac-  
 “ quaint the king with the whole matter, and the  
 “ rather, because he saw som persons who were  
 “ privy to it, desir’d nothing more than to have  
 “ it conceal’d, and bury’d in oblivion: but my  
 “ husband was not willing it should be so, in regard  
 “ he had at that time four sons living; and they  
 “ (he thought) if he should die, might be capa-  
 “ ble of his majesty’s favour. Besides, the duke  
 “ of *Somerset* was dead, and the bishop of *Win-*  
 “ *chester* (the person who was best able to attest it)  
 “ was very ill. These considerations made him go  
 “ to his majesty; and having the opportunity of  
 “ discoursing privately with him, he told him the  
 “ whole matter as I have related it, and for the  
 “ truth of it, appeal’d to Dr. DUPPA, then bishop  
 “ of *Winchester*, and formerly his majesty’s tutor.  
 “ The king then was pleas’d to entertain som dis-  
 “ course with my husband about it, and said that  
 “ he did often wonder how his father should have  
 “ gotten time and privacy enough in his troubles.

“ to



“ to compose so excellent a piece, and written with  
 “ so much learning:”

By the extract that was publish'd of this narrative, it would seem as if it were somewhat longer; but this is all that came to my hands, two witnesses attesting, that as far as it goes, it is exactly conformable to the original. What accident hinder'd the rest (if there be any) from being copy'd, I cannot certainly tell; tho', when ever I com by a true information, I shall (if occasion be) publish my knowledg of that particular, in an appendix to this book. The substance of what remains in the abstract, is, “ That when king CHARLES the  
 “ second (as we saw but now) was made acquainted  
 “ with this mystery, he gave a promise to Dr.  
 “ GAUDEN of the bishoprick of *Winchester*; and  
 “ that the duke of *York* had also assur'd him of his  
 “ favor: That upon Dr. DUPPA's death, tho'  
 “ Dr. GAUDEN put the king in mind of his promise, he was only made bishop of *Worcester*,  
 “ Dr. MORLEY having obtain'd the see of *Winchester*: That her husband dying soon after, Mrs.  
 “ GAUDEN petition'd the king, shewing that she  
 “ was left a widow, with four sons and a daughter;  
 “ that it cost her husband 200 l. to remove from  
 “ *Exeter* to *Worcester*; and pray'd his majesty to  
 “ bestow the half-year's rents upon her, which he  
 “ deny'd, and gave them to another.”

WE learn further from Dr. WALKER, that immediately upon Dr. GAUDEN's nomination to the bishoprick of *Worcester*, he told him, that waiting upon the king the next morning after the bishop of  
*Win-*

*Winchester's* death, he found a remarkable alteration in him, his majesty being penfive and out of humor; in which temper he still found him for two mornings after: But having learnt the third day that my lord chancellor had by all his interest press'd the king to bestow *Winchester* on Dr. MORLEY, he presum'd to tell his majesty how uneasy he perceiv'd him to be between the honor of his word that he shou'd succeed his friend Dr. DUPPA, and the importunity of those who sollicit'd for Dr. MORLEY; and that therefore he most willingly releas'd his majesty of his promise. Here, continues Dr. GAUDEN, the king stopt me, and vouchsaf'd to embrace me in his arms, with these expressions; *My Lord, I thank you; and it may not be long 'ere I have opportunity to shew you how kindly I take it. And in the mean time you shall have Worcester; and, to make it to you as good as I can, all the dignities of that church (I know not how it comes to pass) being in my disposal, I give you the disposing of them all during your time, that you may prefer your friends, and have them near about you.*

It was an ordinary thing with king CHARLES the second thus to forget his promises, which made him frequently uneasy, and occasion'd Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE (whom he had serv'd after this manner) to say of him in his incomparable Memoirs, "That  
" this temper made him apt to fall into the persuasions of whoever had his kindness and confidence  
" for the time, how different soever from the opinions he was of before: and that he was very  
" easie to change hands, when those he imploy'd  
" seem'd to have engag'd him in any difficulties;  
" so

“ so as nothing lookt steddy in the conduct of his  
 “ affairs, nor aim’d at any certain end.”

THUS we have don with the narrative of Mrs. GAUDEN, who was often heard to relate the substance of it to her friends and relations, and who, when Dr. NICHOLSON, then bishop of *Glocester*, did, on her receiving of the sacrament, put the question to her, affirm’d, that her husband wrote that book, which several now living in that city do very well remember.

WE come at length to the last period of our labor, and that is to shew the invalidity of the facts which are alledg’d to prove CHARLES the first was the true author of *Icon Basilike*. And the first evidence we shall hear is his own son and successor, CHARLES II. who granted his letters patents to Mr. ROYSTON for printing all his father’s works, and particularly this piece, which, says Mr. WAGSTAF, contradicts what he’s believ’d to have said to my lord ANGLESEY. But with his good leave the conclusion does not follow : for these letters were issu’d out in the year 60, before Dr. GAUDEN gave the king true information ; and it was in 75, that he told his opinion to my lord ANGLESEY, long after he was convinc’d that his father had not written the book. But if king CHARLES the second had dissembled his knowledge of this affair, it had not bin at all a thing inconsistent with his character, but a piece of his grandfather’s boasted kingcraft, and which he practic’d on many less pardonable



ble occasions. Have not princes in all ages, as well as other men, bin allow'd to keep things secret which it was not their interest should be known, and which are commonly call'd by the name of state mysteries? How many juggles are us'd by the eastern princes to beget an extraordinary opinion of their persons in the minds of their subjects, who, by the force of such fantastical stories, carry their respect even to adoration? But what need I go out of *England* for examples? When our own kings have for so many ages pretended to cure the king's evil, by meerly touching the affected part; and this power of healing is said to be communicated to them by the blessing of king EDWARD *the Confessor*, one of the weakest and most priest-ridden princes that ever wore a crown. All the monkish historians, and particularly the abbot of *Rievall*, who wrote his life, have given us a large catalogue of his miracles: but I wonder why our princes have not also pretended to restore sight to the blind; for this is also affirm'd of king EDWARD's wonder working touch. 'Tis strange, that a protestant bishop should compose a form of divine service to be read on this occasion, when he might as warrantably believe all the other legends of those dark and ignorant times. If I did persuade myself that king CHARLES the second (who is said to have cur'd very many) was a saint, it should be the greatest miracle I could believe. But king WILLIAM, who came to deliver us from superstition as well as from slavery, has now abolisht this remnant of popery: For it is not, as his enemies suggest, because he thinks his title, which

is the best in the world, defective, that he abstains from touching; but because he laughs at the folly, and scorns to take the advantage of the fraud. So much for the letters patents of CHARLES II. and we shall consider those of the late king JAMES in their due order.

THE next witness shall be major HUNTINGTON, who (as Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE relates in his *Short View of the Troubles of England* \*) did, thro' the favor of general FAIRFAX, restore to king CHARLES the first, after he was brought to *Hamp-ton-Court*, the manuscript of *Icon Basilike* written with the said king's own hand, and found in his cabinet at *Naseby* fight. By the way, they should have said, for the grace of the story, *part of the manuscript*; for a good deal of the book was written afterwards, be the author who you please. And they should have told us likewise how general FAIRFAX durst send one part of his papers to the king, when he sent the rest to the parliament; or, since they would make us believe he was so kind to the king, why he did not restore him all the papers, when 'tis very evident, that those which the parliament order'd to be publish'd were infinitely of greater consequence, and made him a world of enemies, which oblig'd the author of *Icon Basilike* to write a chapter on this very subject; whereas the papers in question would probably mollify some of his opposers. But now when all is don, tho' general FAIRFAX was afterwards against putting the king to death, yet he was not at that time dispos'd to grant him any favors, and acted with as hearty

zeal against him as any in the nation, which appears by all the histories of those times, as well as by his own and the memoirs of the lord HOLLIS. As for major HUNTINGTON, Dr. WALKER assures us, " That he told him, when he heard such a  
 " book was publish'd and confidently reported to  
 " be the king's, all he said was that he surely believ'd those were the papers he saw him so usually  
 " take out of his cabinet, and that he never read  
 " one line or word of them." This and Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE's testimony are diverse from that of Mr. RICHARD DUKE, of *Ottertoun* in *Devon*, who writes the following letter to Dr. GOODAL, famous for his zeal on the behalf of *Icon Basilike*.  
 " Sir, I confess that I heard major HUNTINGTON  
 " to say more than once, that whilst he guarded  
 " CHARLES the first at *Holmby-House* (as I remember) he saw several chapters or leaves of that  
 " great king's meditations lying on the table several mornings, with a pen and ink with which  
 " the king scratch'd out or blotted som lines or  
 " words of som of them. Upon which I must  
 " also confess that I concluded they were originally  
 " from the king; but others have drawn a contrary argument from the king's correcting the  
 " papers. Yet I put this under my hand, that  
 " the major told me, that he did suppose them  
 " originally from that learned prince, which is  
 " the *Totum* that can be intimated from, Sir,  
 " your humble servant, RICHARD DUKE." Then one Mr. CAVE BECK writes to Dr. HOLLINGWORTH, " That major HUNTINGTON at *Ipswich*  
 " assur'd him, that so much of the said book as



“ contain’d his majesty’s meditations before *Naseby*  
 “ fight was taken in the king’s cabinet ; and that  
 “ Sir THOMAS FAIRFAX deliver’d the said pa-  
 “ pers to him, and order’d him to carry them  
 “ to the king ; and also told him, that when he  
 “ deliver’d them to the king, his majesty appear’d  
 “ very joyful, and said he esteem’d ’em more than  
 “ all the jewels he had lost in the cabinet.” This  
 major HUNTINGTON was a strange man to vary so  
 often in his story, and to tell so much more or less  
 to every body that enquir’d of him ; but indeed  
 ’tis no great wonder that these gentlemen should  
 so widely differ from one another, both as to time  
 and place, as well as to matters of fact, when  
 Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE has printed, under major  
 HUNTINGTON’s name, quite another story from the  
 written memorial out of which he had it. In his  
*Short View* he positively says, as we read before,  
 that the manuscript was written with the king’s own  
 hand : but in his warrant for this, it is only said,  
 as Mr. WAGSTAF himself acknowledges, that all  
 the chapters in it were written by the hand of Sir  
 EDWARD WALKER, but much corrected with in-  
 terlineations of the king’s hand, and that the  
 prayers were all so.

Now, to shew further how cautiously people  
 should rely on Sir WILLIAM DUGDALE, and his-  
 torians like him, we shall produce another re-  
 markable instance. In the book before-quoted,  
 he expressly writes, That Mr. HERBERT did often  
 see the *Icon Basiliæ* while he waited on the king in  
 the *Isle of Wight* ; whereas all that Sir THOMAS (for  
 he was knighted after the restoration) has said in the  
 manu-

manuscript which Sir WILLIAM perus'd, and whereof Mr. WAGSTAF has printed an abstract, is,  
 " That he had there the charge of the king's books;  
 " and that those he most read, after the sacred  
 " scriptures, were bishop ANDREWS's Sermons,  
 " HOOKER's Ecclesiastical Policy, VILLALPANDUS  
 " on *Ezekiel*, SANDY's Paraphrase on the *Psalms*,  
 " HERBERT's Poems, the Translation of GODFREY  
 " of *Bulloign* by Mr. FAIRFAX, of ORLANDO  
 " FURIOSO by Sir JOHN HARRINGTON, and SPEN-  
 " CER's Fairy Queen (to which he might have  
 " added PEMBROKE's *Arcadia*.) And at this time  
 " it was, as is presum'd, (continues Sir THOMAS)  
 " that he compos'd his book, call'd *Suspiria Rega-*  
 " *lia*, publish'd soon after his death, and entitul'd,  
 " *The King's Portraiture in his Solitudes and Sufferings* :  
 " which manuscript Mr. HERBERT found among  
 " those books his majesty was pleas'd to give him,  
 " those excepted which he bequeath'd to his chil-  
 " dren hereafter mention'd. In regard Mr. HER-  
 " BERT, tho' he did not see the king write that  
 " book, his majesty being always privat when he  
 " writ ; and those his servants never coming into  
 " the bed-chamber when the king was privat, til  
 " he call'd ; yet comparing it with his hand-  
 " writing in other things, he found it so very like,  
 " as induces his belief that it was his own, having  
 " seen much of the king's writings before."  
 Here Sir THOMAS only presumes the king might  
 write the book in the *Isle of Wight*, and directly  
 says he never saw the king write it, nor the book it  
 self till after his death ; but Sir WILLIAM affirms  
 from these very papers (for they are said to be

written at his request by Sir THOMAS) that he often saw it in the *Isle of Wight* when he waited on the king in his bed-chamber. 'Tis to be observ'd, that the title of *Suspiria Regalia* is as agreeable to Mrs. GAUDEN's narrative, as the rest of the particulars are different from Sir WILLIAM's relation.

BEFORE we examine the force of Sir THOMAS's testimony, we must first consider what is said by Mr. LEVET, who attended the king at the same time and place. In short, he says, "That of his own certain knowledg he can depose the book was truly the king's, having observ'd his majesty oftentimes writing his royal resentments of the bold and insolent behavior of his soldiers when they had him in their custody: That being nominated by his majesty to be one of his servants during the treaty in the *Isle of Wight*, he had the happiness to read the same oftentimes in manuscript under his majesty's own hand, being pleas'd to leave it in the window of his bed-chamber: And that when the king was remov'd to *Hurst-Castle*, he had the charge of this book, and a cabinet of other papers; which at the said castle he deliver'd again to his majesty;" where, by the way, he does not inform us if the book was distinctly given him from the cabinet, or that he only concluded it was in it. Here are several very observable circumstances: As, First, that altho' Mr. HERBERT, who was of the king's bed-chamber, never saw him write a syllable of this book, (his majesty, he says, being always in privat, when he wrote, and his servants never coming into his bed-chamber till he call'd;) yet



yet Mr. LEVET, a page of the back stairs, often saw him write, knew what he wrote, and could read the book when he pleas'd. Then that the king, who is said to value this book more than all his jewels, should so carelessly leave it in his bed-chamber when he was abroad, and where Mr. HERBERT and others, nay the very soldiers, might see it as well as Mr. LEVET, is not very likely. And lastly, that the king should have so much leisure to mind this book during a treaty with his subjects, or would lose any time in writing of it, when the business in agitation concern'd no less than his re-establishment or abdication, is not credible; besides, that there is nothing particularly written concerning the insolence of the soldiers in all *Icon Basilike*. And I have talk'd with persons of quality and good reputation now alive, who had much more of his majesty's company and confidence in the *Isle of Wight* than Mr. LEVET either shar'd, or could reasonably expect; but yet they neither dreamt of this business then, nor believ'd a jot of it afterwards, as well knowing how the king spent his time in that place. But now supposing Mr. LEVET's relation to be all true, yet it is very far from amounting to a proof, that king CHARLES the first was the real author of *Icon Basilike*, which is the point in question; and not whether he interlin'd or transcrib'd it, which he ought to have don, if he had a mind it should pass for his own: besides that Dr. GAUDEN sent it to him for that very purpose, to be corrected, allow'd, or laid aside, as his majesty should think fit. But tho' the king in all reason might, and I really be-

lieve did, correct or interline a part, and perhaps transcribe the whole book ; yet I can by no means be persuaded that he could find leisure enough to write so many copies of it in his solitudes and sufferings, in the midst of treaties, in the hurry of removals, while he meditated his escape, and was strictly observ'd by his guards. But these gentlemen tell us of as many copies, as the papists shew heads of St. JOHN BAPTIST, or quarts of the virgin MARY's milk. Mr. HERBERT had one left him by the king for a legacy ; CHARLES the second (as Dr. CANARIES writes to Mr. WAGSTAG) shew'd another to Mr. WOOD, a commissioner from the *Scotish Kirk at Breda* ; and who knows which of these, or whether it was either of them, that Mr. LEVET deliver'd to the king at *Hurst-Castle* ? But why, in the name of God, is none of these ever since produc'd ? How came this prince's autographs to be thus neglected, when his day is so strictly observ'd ? This is a piece of respect that's usually paid to less considerable persons ; and I believe either of the universities, would readily give five hundred pounds to have such a copy plac'd in their library, tho' if they had the manuscript, it would make nothing at all for their purpose.

Now let us consider the force of all those testimonies join'd together, which is, that one saw the king write he knew not what, but believ'd it might be this book ; another observ'd him writing his resentments against the rude behavior of the soldiers, and so was ready to depose of his certain knowledge, that *Icon Basiliæ* was his own ; a third presumes the king might write it, because he read a  
great

great many books ; and they unanimously conclude, that he was the genuin author, because the book was written with his own hand ; all which testimonies, considering the premises, prove no more nor less than that the king could write and read, which was never deny'd by any that I know.

It is further urg'd by the admirers of this famous book, that Mr. ROYSTON had it to print as from the king, in which all sides are agreed, and signifies nothing to the merits of the cause ; for, be sure, the bookseller was not made privy to the secret. And as for the anonymous authors of two books which are alledg'd by Mr. WAGSTAF, we shall hear and examin them when they'll please to tell us their names, tho' all they have to say is answer'd already. When Dr. HOLLINGWORTH tells us who are his sufficient witnesses, we shall likewise consider their evidence ; for such affirmations must go for nothing in proving a fact of this nature, and may well serve for a flourish, but not for an argument, no more than several more assertions of his concerning this matter, which were exploded by other hands, and not defended by Mr. WAGSTAF.

Mr. LE PLA minister of *Finchingfield* writes to Dr. GOODAL, that one WILLIAM ALLEN, who collected his tyths for two years, and was formerly a servant to Dr. GAUDEN, affirm'd to him, “ That  
“ the doctor told him he had borrow'd the book,  
“ and was oblig'd to return it by such a time ;  
“ that (besides what other time he might imploy  
“ in it) he sat up one whole night to transcribe it ;  
“ that he sat up in the chamber with him, to wait  
“ upon



“ upon him, to make his fires, and snuff his  
 “ candles : and Mr. LE PLA thinks (for he’s not  
 “ positive) it was from Mr. SYMMONDS of *Rayne*  
 “ that he said the doctor had borrow’d the book.”

Dr. HOLLINGWORTH has formerly affirm’d this story of SYMMONDS’s, who indeed assisted afterwards in printing the book at *London* ; but was so far at this time from living at *Rayne* in the neighborhood of *Becking*, where Dr. GAUDEN dwelt, that, as Dr. WALKER shews, Mr. SYMMONDS was long before sequestered for his loyalty, fled to the king’s quarters, and one Mr. ATKINS plac’d in his room by the parliament. Nor is it credible that Dr. GAUDEN, whether he meant a fraud or not, should give an account of his studies, much less discover the secret of this book for no reason in the world, to never so trusty a servant, especially to one that was to look after his fire and snuff his candles.

Now we com to the late king JAMES’s letters patents to Mr. CHISWEL for liberty to print his father’s works ; for they are urg’d as an argument that he thought *Icon Basilike* genuin, tho’ this book be not specially mention’d in these letters, which are general, and refer not to those of his brother in 60. But here I must beg leave to relate a story that will give som light to this matter. In the year 1677, the house of commons having voted two months tax for the more decent interment of CHARLES I. and to raise a monument for him, Mr. CHISWEL, being Mr. ROYSTON’s son in law, thought of a project that would answer the end of the parliament, and not be unserviceable to his father, with whom he was concern’d in trade : and it was, that  
 a part

a part of that sum might be appropriated towards bearing the charge of an impression of the king's works, wherof every parish in *England* should be oblig'd to have a copy, and to chain it in the church; which, in his opinion, would prove a more glorious and lasting monument than any could be fram'd of brass or marble. This thought was very well lik'd by several great men of the church and state, who shew'd themselves ready to promote it; and he did not, we may imagin, spare any cost or labor to have it succeed, tho' 'tis well known how little CHARLES the second himself encourag'd it. But the distrusts arising afterwards between the king and people, the heats in parliament, and particularly the popish plot, broke this, and all such designs to pieces: So that there was no farther mention of any monument for his father. But when the duke of *York* mounted the throne, and had given assurances of his favor to the church of *England*, Mr. CHISWEL thought again of reviving his project, and employ'd Sir ROGER L'ESTRANGE to procure him only king JAMES's commendatory letter; for he did not expect any thing from parliament as before, only suggested how agreeable this would seem to the king's design (if it were real) of begetting a confidence of himself in the church. This request the king refus'd, giving for his reason, that *Icon Basilike* was not his father's book, and he could not therefore in conscience recommend it as his. Mr. CHISWEL being inform'd of this resolution by Sir ROGER, answer'd, that he thought he could accommodate the matter: For since the publishing of the rest  
would

would signifie nothing without the addition of *Icon Basilike*, he would remove it from the front where it stood in the former edition, and place it in the rear after *fnis*, as books of uncertain authority use to be printed. To this the king consented, on condition som expressions which he thought injurious to the monarchy should be left out: with which Mr. CHISWEL said he could by no means comply, as being a disingenuous practice towards any author, and a great abuse on the public; but propos'd, as another expedient, that those words should be put within crotchets. And thus *Icon Basilike* stands now printed after the end of the second part of the king's works of the edition of 86, by Mr. CHISWEL, who told me this story himself, not to gratifie or injure any side, but as a matter of fact, wherein he was personally concern'd; and from whence he draws no manner of inference. The royal brothers said the same to several others besides my lord ANGLESEY, and particularly to som eminent persons now living, who told me so much themselves, with a liberty of mentioning their names, which after all that has bin offer'd, I see no necessity of doing.

THAT nothing may be wanting I shall in the last place consider what is objected to the prayer us'd by the king as his own in the time of his captivity; but is, with very small variation, the same that is said by PAMELA to a heathen deity in Sir PHILIP SYDNEY's *Arcadia*. This discovery, as we said before, was first made by MILTON in his *Iconoclastes*. But Dr. GILL affirms, "That his patient HENRY HILL the printer said it was put in by a contrivance of MILTON, who catching his friend  
" Mr.



“ Mr. DU GARD printing an edition of *Icon Basi-*  
“ *like*, got his pardon by BRADSHAW’s interest,  
“ on condition he would insert PAMELA’s Prayer  
“ to bring discredit on the book and the author of  
“ it.” I wonder at the easiness of Dr. GILL and  
Dr. BERNARD to believe so gross a fable, when it  
does not appear that DU GARD, who was printer  
to the parliament, ever printed this book, and that  
the prayer is in the second edition publish’d by Mr.  
ROYSTON, whose evidence is alledg’d to prove the  
genuineness of the book. And if the king’s friends  
thought it not his own, what made them print it  
in the first impression of his works in folio, by  
ROYSTON in 62, when MILTON could not tamper  
with the press? Or why did they let it pass in the  
last impression in folio by Mr. CHISWEL in the  
year 86, when all the world knew that it was long  
before expos’d in *Iconoclastes*? After this I need not  
go about to shew that Dr. GILL had no reason for  
the great opinion he entertain’d of HENRY HILL,  
and how little he consulted his own reputation, by  
asserting that no man was better vers’d in the secret  
history of those times; that he was intrusted with  
intrigues by the great ones of that government,  
who, as all the world knows, manag’d their affairs  
after another rate. Nor will I insist upon his turn-  
ing papist in king JAMES’s time to become his prin-  
ter, as he was OLIVER’s before, or any other cir-  
cumstance to lessen his credit, since it appears that  
what he averr’d is inconsistent with matter of fact,  
Mr. ROYSTON, and not DU GARD, having pub-  
lish’d the celebrated prayer which I add in this place  
laid parallel with the original.

The

*The Prayer of King CHARLES, stil'd A Prayer in Time of Captivity, Printed in pag. 94. of his Works, 1686; and also in Icon Basilike.*

**O** Powerful and eternal God, to whom nothing is so great that it may resist, or so small that it is condemn'd, look upon my misery with thine eye of mercy, and let thine infinite power vouchsafe to limit out some proportion of deliverance unto me, as to thee shall seem most convenient. Let not injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my fault by thy hand be corrected; and make not my unjust enemies the ministers of thy justice. But yet, my God, if in thy wisdom this be the aptest chastisement for my unexcusable transgressions, if this ungrateful bondage be fittest for my over-high desires, if the pride of my (not-enough humble) heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy will, and cheerfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have me suffer; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of, since it even proceeds from thee) that by thy goodness, which is thy self, thou wilt suffer some beam of thy majesty so to shine in my mind, that I, who in my greatest afflictions acknowledge it my noblest title to be thy creature, may still depend confidently on thee: Let calamity be the exercise, but not the overthrow of my virtue. O let not their prevailing power be to my destruction; and if it be thy will

*The PRAYER of PAMELA (to  
a Heathen Deity.) In Pembroke's  
Arcadia, pag. 248, 1674.*

O All-seeing light, and eternal life of all things, to whom nothing is either so great that it may resist, or so small that it is contain'd, look upon my misery with thine ey of mercy, and let thine infinite power vouchsafe to limit out som proportion of deliverance unto me, as to thee shall seem most convenient. Let not injury, O Lord, triumph over me, and let my faults by thy hand be corrected, and make not mine unjust enemy the minister of thy justice. But yet, my God, if in thy wisdom this be the aptest chastisement for my unexcusable folly, if this low bondage be fitted for my over high desires, if the pride of my not-enough humble heart be thus to be broken, O Lord, I yield unto thy will, and joyfully embrace what sorrow thou wilt have me suffer; only thus much let me crave of thee (let my craving, O Lord, be accepted of thee, since even that proceeds from thee) let me crave even by the noblest title which in my greatest affliction I may give my self, that I am thy creature, and by thy goodness, which is thy self, that thou wilt suffer som beams of thy majesty to shine into my mind, that it may still depend confidently on thee. Let calamity be the exercise,



will that they more and more vex me with punishment, yet, O Lord, never let their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may still carry a pure mind and steadfast resolution ever to serve thee without fear or presumption, yet with that humble confidence which may best please thee; so that at the last I may come to thy eternal kingdom, through the merits of thy Son, our alone Savior, **JESUS CHRIST. Amen.**

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exercise, but not the overthrow of my virtue; let their power prevail, but prevail not to destruction; let my greatness be their prey: let my pain be the sweetness of their revenge; let them (if so it seem good unto thee) vex me with more and more punishment: But, O Lord, let never their wickedness have such a hand, but that I may carry a pure mind in a pure body; *and pausing a while*; and O most gracious Lord, *said she*, whatever becomes of me, preserve the virtuous MUSIDORUS.

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# CONCLUSION.

**I** Hope by this time I have satisfy'd Mr. BLACK-HALL, since I have not only laid together the first testimonies concerning this matter, but also answer'd the exceptions that were made to those testimonies, and disprov'd the fresh evidence which was produc'd on the behalf of *Icon Basilike* \*.

\* The evidence on both sides of the question was collected by me, and laid before the public with the utmost sincerity and impartiality, in an "Appendix" to the former edition of this life in 1738, except that I forgot to mention, that Bishop Burnet assures us, in the History of his own Times, that the Earl of Lothian, who knew King Charles the first very well, and loved him little, seem'd confident, that it was his majesties own hand, his Lordship declaring to the Bishop, that he had heard the King say a great many things, that he found in that book: But that, on the other hand, the Duke of York, in 1673, told him, that the Icon was not of his father's writing, but Dr. Gauden's, who, after the Restoration, brought the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Southampton, to King Charles II, and the Duke of York, and that those noble persons affirmed, that it was written by that Divine, and carried down to the Earl of Southampton, and shewed to King Charles I, during the treaty of Newport, who read it, and approved of it, as containing his sense of things. To which may now be added, that Dr. Patrick, Bishop of Ely, in his manuscript "History of his own Life," though attached in the younger part of his life to the interest of King Charles I, *denies his Majesty to have been the original author of the Icon*, &c. &c.

Birch's Life of Milton.

But



But if he's offended at my performance he may thank himself; seeing without his causeless provocation I had never written a word more on this subject, as I shall not do hereafter, unless for as justifiable a reason: For notwithstanding I may not answer every scribler, yet I'll be misrepresented and abus'd by no body worth my notice.

INDEED Mr. BLACKHALL is not the first who has occasion'd controversies by a thirtieth of January sermon. Every body knows how much the observation of that day was abus'd in the two last reigns by servile flatterers, who, not content to run shameful parallels between the sufferings of our Savior and the king (wherein the latter was often made to exceed) they taught the people the ridiculous \* doctrine of Passive Obedience, as they allow'd the prince an unlimited and despotic power. This render'd those persons justly odious to the nation, and made sober men frequently wish that such an opportunity of doing mischief might be taken away from those who fail'd not to improve it to the utmost. It was likewise observ'd how much these sermons contributed to raise animosities and feuds in the kingdom, and to continue the fatal distinctions of names and parties, which every good man should desire might be abolish'd, or bury'd in eternal oblivion.

\* As for divines meddling with politics, he has in the former part of his preliminaries to *Oceana* delivered his opinion "That there is something in the making of a Commonwealth, then in the governing of it, and last of all in the leading of its armies, which, though there be great Divines, great Lawyers, great men in all professions, seems to be peculiar only to the genius of a Gentleman; for it is plain in the universal series of story, that if any one founded a Commonwealth, "he was first a Gentleman," the truth of which assertion he proves from Moses downwards.

Life of James Harrington.

*Besides that for many weighty reasons such days ought not to be perpetuated, or otherwise in a little time ours will be as full as the Roman Calendar: wherefore I readily approve of the learned bishop of Salisbury's opinion, That our deliverances should wear out the memory of such tragical accidents, which no body pretends to justify; and indeed I think it very reasonable (if our legislators be of the same opinion) that the commemoration of his present majesty's landing to deliver us from slavery on the fifth of November, should hereafter take place of the thirtieth of January. Other holydays have bin recommended to a constant observation, tho' they are since grown into disuse, or are legally abolish'd, which the best friends of the clergy desire may be the fate of that day out of their respect to the church: For these sermons do constantly put the people in mind of that set of men who preach'd 'em out of their liberties in former times; and the honest clergy themselves are still under an unhappy necessity of saying many things, that (let 'em think what they will) are not extremely pleasing to the body of the nation. The descendants of those concern'd in that act, and many of 'em far from approving it, conceive themselves unkindly us'd in most of those discourses; nor are the posterity of the greatest royalists in a better condition, if that be a national guilt that's never to be expiated, tho' neither they nor their ancestors consented to it; to say nothing of the frequent intermarriages and other ties between both the parties.*

*If the extravagancies of those sermons had terminated with the late reign, few people, perhaps, would trouble*

*trouble themselves now about what's past, unless constrain'd to it by som officious chaplain: But \* they can-*  
*not*

\* Kings, Princes, and Governours have their autoritie of the People, as all lawes, usages and policies doo declare and testifie. For in some places and countreies they have more and greater autoritie, in some places lesse. And in some the people have not given this autoritie to any other, but reteine and exercise it themselves. And is any man so unreasonable to denie, that the hole maie doo as much as they have permitted one member to doo? or those that have appointed an office upon trust, have not autoritie upon just occasion (AS THE ABUSE OF IT) to take away that they gave? All lawes doo agree, that men maie revoke their proxies and letters of attournaie, when it pleaseth them: much more when they see their proctours and attournenaies abuse it. But now to prove the later parte of this question affirmatively, that it is laufull to kill a tirant.—

A shorte treatise of politike pouwer, and of the true obedience which subjectes owe to Kynges, and other ciuile Governours, with an exhortation to all true naturall Englishmen, compiled by D. I. P. B. R. W. [i. e. Dr. John Poynt, or Ponnet, Bishop Rochester, Winchester] 1556, in octavo. Printed 1642, in quarto.

The seconde apparteyneth on the other parte, to the people, which ought not to suffer all power and libertie to be taken from them, and therby to become brute beastes, with out iudgmente and reason, thinking all thinges lawfull, which their rulers do with out exception commande them, be they neuer so farrre from reason or godlynesse: as thoghe they were not reasonable creatures, but brute beastes: as thoghe there were no difference betwixt bonde slaues, and free subjectes: and as thoghe they had no portion or right at all in the countrie where they inhabite: but as they were altogether created of God to serue their kinges and gouernors like slaues. and not their kinges and gouernors appoynted of God to preserue his people, neher of they are but a portion and members, albeit they occupie the cheif rounge and office, not to bringe the rest of the members in contempte and bondage, but to comforte them, defende them, and norishe them as members of the same bodie

How superior Powers ought to be obeyd of their subjects: and wherein they may lawfully by Gods worde be disobeyed and resisted. By Christopher Goodman. Printed Geneva 1558 in duodecimo. p. 148, 149.



not endure to bear the members of the parliament of

40

*Est inter principem et populum ubique locorum mutua et reciproca obligatio.* Promittit ille, se justum principem futurum: hic, si talis fuerit, se obsequuturum. Obligatur ergo populus principi, sub conditione: princeps, populo pure. Itaque si minus adimpletur conditio, solutus est populus, irritus contractus, obligatio ipso jure nulla. Perfidus ergo rex, si injuste imperet; perfidus populus, si juste imperanti non obtemperet. At omni perfidiae crimine vacuus populus, si injuste imperanti publice renunciet, aut regnum retinere illegitime cupienti, armis evincere conetur. Ergo licet regni officiariis aut omnibus, aut saltem pluribus, tyrannum coercere. *Nec verò modo licet, verum ita quidem illis ex officio incumbit, ut, ni fecerint, nullo pacto excusari possint.* Neque enim—&c. &c. &c.

Vindictiae contra Tyrannos: Sive de Principis in Populum, Populique in Principem, legitima potestate, Stephano Junio Bruto, Celta, Auctore. Edinburgi, anno 1579. Reprinted in English, London 1648, in quarto. And again 1689, in quarto, at the most noble, most happy Revolution.

A King governing in a settled kingdom, leaves to be a king, and degenerates into a tyrant, *as soon as he leaves off to rule according to his law.*—And a little after—Therefore all kings that are not tyrants, or perjured, will be glad to bound themselves within the limits of the laws. And they that perswade them the contrary, *are Vipers, Pests, both against them, and the Commonwealth.*

King James's speech to his Parliament 1609.

And the truth is, our parliament is very much to be excused, or rather justified, in this distrust they have of persons; since there hath been of late so many and so successful attempts used by the late great ministers, to debauch the most eminent members of the commons house, by pensions and offices: and therefore it would wonderfully conduce to the good of the commonwealth, and to the composing our disordered state, if there were men of so high and unquestionable a reputation, that they were above all suspicion and distrust, and so might venture upon bold, that is (in this case) moderate counsels, for the saving of their country. *Such men there were in the parliament of 1640; at least twenty or thirty: who having stood their ground in seven parliaments before, which in the two last kings reigns had been dissolved abruptly and in wrath; and having resisted the fear of imprisonment and great fines for their love to England, as well as the temptation of*

money

40 so infamously branded, considering how lately they  
were

money and offices to betray it ; both offer'd by the wicked counsellors of that age, tending both to the ruin of our just rights and the detriment of their master's affairs : I say, having constantly and with great magnanimity and honour made proof of their integrity, they had acquired so great a reputation, that not only the parliament, but even almost the whole people, stuck to them ; and were sway'd by them in actions of a much higher nature than any are now discours'd of ; without fear of being deserted, or as we say, left in the lurch.

Neville's "Plato redivivus : Or Dialogues concerning government," edit. 3. p. 280, 281.

So that, this is manifest, a Magistrate actually dispossessed hath no right to be restored, nor the subject any obligation to seek to restore, but oppose him. For what is man, or rather mankind (for so we have stiled a Nation) better then a herd of sheepe or oxen, if it bee to be owned, like them, by masters ? What difference is there between their masters selling them to the Butcher, and obliging them to venture their lives and livelihoods for his private Interest ? We know it is naturall, that the part should venture for the whole ; but that the whole should venture the losse of it selfe to save the part, I cannot understand. The Gouvernour is the highest and noblest part, yet but a part ; the People is the whole, the end (though not by office yet by worth and dignity) the master and lord, for whom those who are Lords by office are to be vested and devested in Lordship, when it is necessary for the common good. Who thinks otherwise, deserves not the name of man.

The Grounds of Obedience and Government, by Thomas White, Gentleman (a Benedictine Priest, afterwards Father Confessor to the Queen Mother Henrietta Maria.) London printed 1655 in 16°. edit. 2. p. 142, 143.

Speaking of Government He cited the Arcadia. Princes are to remember whom they govern; men, rational Creatures, who soon scorn at follies, and repine at injuries : adding of his own, that it was an unparalleled arrogance and fanaticism in any one man to believe, that God from eternity had appointed all creatures for his pleasure, men for his ambition, women for his lust : And that the doctrine of *Preces et Lacrymæ* ought to be discreetly handled, least the People believe they made themselves slaves when they became Christians ; and least princes should so far mistake as to believe their subjects made up of knees and eyes, and no hands, — Memorable sayings of Hobbs.

were oblig'd themselves to assert their laws and liberties  
against

*Wherever law ends tyranny begins, if the law be transgressed to another's harm, and whosoever in authority exceeds the power given him by law, and makes use of the force under his command to compass that upon the subject, which the law allows not, ceases in that to be a magistrate, and acting without authority, may be opposed as any other man, who by force invades the right of another.*  
Locke upon Government.

And because some of our princes in this last age, did their utmost endeavour to destroy this union and harmony of the Three Estates, and to be arbitrary or independent, they ought to be looked upon as the Aggressors upon our Constitution. This drove the other Two Estates (for the sake of the publick preservation) into the fatal necessity of providing for themselves; and when once the wheel was set a running, 'twas not in the power of man to stop it just where it ought to have stopp'd. This is so ordinary in all violent motions, whether mechanick or political, that no body can wonder at it. But no wise men approved of the ill effects of those violent motions either way, cou'd they have help'd them. Yet it must be owned they have (as often as used, thro' an extraordinary piece of good fortune) brought us back to our old Constitution again, which else had been lost; for there are numberless instances in History of a downfall from a state of Liberty to a Tyranny, but very few of a recovery of Liberty from Tyranny, if this last have had any length of time to fix it self and take root. Let all such, who either thro' interest or ignorance are Adorers of absolute Monarchs, say what they please; an English Whig can never be so unjust to his country, and to right reason, as not to be of opinion, that in all civil Commotions, which side soever is the wrongful Aggressor, is accountable for all the evil consequences: And thro the course of his reading (tho my Lord Clarendon's Books be thrown into the heap) he finds it very difficult to observe, that ever the People of England took up arms against their Prince, but when constrain'd to it by a necessary care of their liberties and true Constitution. 'Tis certainly as much a treason and rebellion against this Constitution, and the known laws, in a Prince to endeavour to break thro them, as 'tis in the People to rise against him, whilst he keeps within their bounds, and does his duty. Our Constitution is a Government of Laws, not of Persons. Allegiance and Protection are obligations that cannot subsist separately; when one fails, the other falls of course. The true etymology of the word Loyalty (which has been so strangely wrested in the late reigns) is an entire obedience to the Prince in all his Commands according



against the martyr's son, who violated and broke them  
as

to the Law; that is, to the *Laws themselves*, to which we owe both an active and passive Obedience. By the old and true Maxim, that *the King can do no wrong*, no body is so foolish as to conclude, that he has not strength to murder, to offer violence to Women, or power enough to dispossess a Man wrongfully of his Estate, or that whatever he does (how wicked soever) is just: but the meaning is, he has no *lawful Power* to do such things; and our Constitution considers no power as irresistible, but what is *lawful*. And since Religion is become a great and universal Concern, and drawn into our Government, as it affects every single Man's conscience; tho' in my private opinion, they ought not to be mingled; nor to have any thing to do with each other (I do not speak of our church polity, which is part of our State, and dependent upon it) some account must be given of that matter. *Whiggism* is not circumscrib'd and confin'd to any one or two of the religions now profess'd in the world, but diffuses itself among all. We have known *Jews*, *Turks*, nay, some *Papists* (which I own to be a great rarity) very great Lovers of the Constitution and Liberty; and were there rational grounds to expect, that any numbers of them cou'd be so, I should be against using severities or distinctions upon account of Religion. For a *Papist* is not dangerous, nor ought to be ill us'd by any body, because he prays to Saints; believes Purgatory, or the real Presence in the Eucharist, and pays divine worship to an Image or Picture (which are the common Topicks of our Writers of controversy against the *Papists*) but because Popery sets up a foreign jurisdiction paramount to our Laws. So that a real *Papist* can neither be a true Governor of a Protestant Country, nor a true Subject; and besides, is the most Priest-ridden Creature in the World: and (when uppermost) can bear with no body that differs from him in opinion; little considering, that whosoever is against Liberty of Mind, is, in effect, against Liberty of Body too. And therefore all penal Acts of Parliament for Opinions purely religious, which have no influence on the State, are so many Encroachments upon Liberty, whilst those which restrain Vice and Injustice are against Licentiousness. I profess my self to have always been a Member of the Church of England, and am for supporting it in all its Honours, Privileges and Revenue: but as a Christian and a Whig, I must have charity for those that differ from me in religious Opinions, whether *Pagans*, *Turks*, *Jews*, *Papists*, *Quakers*, *Socinians*, *Presbyterians*, or others. I look upon Bigotry to have always been the very bane of human Society, and the offspring of interest and ignorance, which has occasion'd most of the great Mischiefs that have afflicted Mankind. We ought no  
more

at his pleasure: And in this sense many were of opinion  
that

more to expect to be all of one Opinion, as to the worship of the Deity, than to be all of one Colour or Stature. To stretch or narrow any Man's Conscience to the Standard of our own, is no less a piece of Cruelty than that of *Procrustes* the tyrant of *Attica*, who used to fit his Guests to the length of his own iron Bedsted, either by cutting them shorter, or racking them longer. What just reason can I have to be angry with, to endeavour to curb the natural Liberty, or to retrench the civil advantages of an honest man (who follows the golden Rule, of doing to others, as he wou'd have others do to him, and is willing and able to serve the Publick) only because he thinks his way to Heaven surer or shorter than mine? No body can tell which of us is mistaken, till the day of Judgment, or whether any of us be so (for there may be different ways to the same end, and I am not for circumscribing God Almighty's Mercy.) This I am sure of, one shall meet with the same positiveness in opinion, in some of the Priests of all these sects; the same want of charity, engrossing Heaven by way of Monopoly to their own Corporation, and managing it by a joint Stock, exclusive of all others (as pernicious in Divinity as in trade, and perhaps more.) The same pretences to Miracles, Martyrs, Inspirations, Merits, Mortifications, Revelations, Austerity, Antiquity, &c. (as all Persons conversant with History, or that travel, know to be true) and this *cui bono*? I think it the honour of the Reformed part of the Christian profession, and the Church of England in particular, that it pretends to fewer of these unusual and extraordinary things, than any other Religion we know of in the World, being convinced, that these are not the distinguishing Marks of the Truth of any Religion (I mean, the assuming obstinate pretences to them are not) and it were not amiss, if we farther enlarg'd our Charity, when we can do it with safety, or advantage to the State.

Lord Moleworth's noble preface to the translation of *Hottoman's Francogallia*.

Now it was on account of King Charles's thus assuming a power above the laws, in direct contradiction to his coronation oath, and governing the greatest part of his time, in the most arbitrary oppressive manner; it was upon this account, that that resistance was made to him, which, at length, issued in the loss of his crown, and of that head, which was unworthy to wear it. But by whom was this resistance made? Not by a private *junto*;—not by a small seditious party;—not by a few desperadoes, who, to mend their fortunes, would embroil the state;—but by the Lords and Commons of England. It was they that almost  
unanimously

that king CHARLES'S blood lay heavy on the nation,  
which

unanimously opposed the king's measures for overturning the constitution, and changing that free and happy government into a wretched absolute monarchy. It was they that, when the king was about levying forces against his subjects, in order to make himself absolute, commissioned officers, and raised an army to defend themselves and the public: And it was they that maintained the war against him all along, till he was made a prisoner. This is indisputable. Though it was not properly speaking the parliament, but the army, which put him to death afterwards. And it ought to be freely acknowledged, that most of their proceedings, in order to get this matter effected, and particularly the court, by which the king was at last tried and condemned, was a little better than a mere mockery of justice.—The next question which naturally arises is, whether this resistance, which was made to the king by the parliament, was properly *rebellion*, or not? The answer to which is plain, that it was not; but a most righteous and glorious stand, made in defence of the natural and legal rights of the people, against the unnatural and illegal encroachments of arbitrary power. Nor was this a rash and too sudden opposition. The nation had been patient under the oppressions of the crown, even to *long suffering*—for a course of many years; and there was no rational hope of redress in any other way.—Resistance was absolutely necessary in order to preserve the nation from slavery, misery and ruin. And who so proper to make this resistance as the Lords and Commons;—the whole representative body of the people;—guardians of the public welfare; and each of which was, in point of legislation, vested with an equal co-ordinate power, with that of the crown? Here were *two* branches of the legislature against *one*;—two, which had law and equity and the constitution on their side, against one, which was impiously attempting to overturn law and equity and the constitution; and to exercise a wanton licentious *sovereignty* over the properties, consciences and lives of all the people:—Such a sovereignty as some inconsiderately ascribe to the supreme governor of the world.—I say, inconsiderately; because God himself does not govern in an absolutely arbitrary and despotic manner. The power of this Almighty King (I speak it not without caution and reverence; the power of this Almighty King) is *limited by law*; not indeed, by *acts of parliament*, but by the eternal *laws* of truth, wisdom and equity;—and the everlasting *tables* of right reason;—tables that cannot be *repealed*, or *thrown down* and *broken* like those of Moses.—But king Charles sat himself above all these, as much



*which made them for the ease of the same to shake off the burden of king JAMES.*

SOM,

as he did above the written laws of the realm ; and made mere humour and caprice, which are no rule at all, the only rule and measure of his administration. And now, is it not perfectly ridiculous to call resistance to such a tyrant, by the name of *rebellion* ? — *the grand rebellion* ! Even that parliament, which brought king Charles II. to the throne, and which run *loyally mad*, severely reprov'd one of their own members for condemning the proceedings of that parliament, which first took up arms against the former king. And upon the same principles that the proceedings of this parliament may be censured as wicked and rebellious, the proceedings of those, who since oppos'd king James II. and brought the prince of *Orange* to the throne, may be censured as wicked and rebellious also. The cases are parallel. But whatever *some* men may think, it is to be hoped that, for their own sakes, they will not dare to *speak* against the Revolution, upon the justice and legality of which depends (in part) his present Majesty's right to the throne. If it be said, that although the parliament, which first oppos'd king Charles's measures, and at length took up arms against him, were not guilty of rebellion ; yet certainly those persons were, who condemn'd, and put him to death ; even this perhaps is not true. For he had in fact *unking'd* himself long before, and had forfeited his title to the allegiance of the people, so that those who put him to death, were, at most, only guilty of *murder* : which indeed is bad enough, if they were really guilty of that (which is at least disputable.) Cromwell, and those who were principally concerned in the (*nominal*) king's death, might possibly have been very wicked and designing men. Nor shall I say any thing in vindication of the reigning *hypocrisy* of those times ; or of Cromwell's male-administration during the *inter-regnum* (for it is *truth*, and not a *party*, that I am speaking for.) But still it may be said, that Cromwell and his adherents were not, properly speaking, guilty of *rebellion* ; because he, whom they beheaded, was not, properly speaking, *their king* ; but a *lawless tyrant*. — Much less are the whole body of the nation at that time to be charged with rebellion on that account ; for it was no *national act* ; it was not done by a *free* parliament. And much less still is the nation at present to be charged with the great sin of rebellion, for what their *ancestors* did (or rather did not) a century ago. But how came the *anniversary* of king Charles's death to be solemnized as a day of fasting and humiliation ? The true answer in brief to which inquiry is,

SOM; who otherwise honor the memory of king CHARLES the first, are angry to hear him, in Mr. BLACKHALL's language, call'd *the best of Kings, and the best of Men*; when they consider especially,

is, that this fast was instituted by way of *court and compliment* to king Charles II, upon the *restoration*. All were desirous of making their court to him; of ingratiating themselves; and of making him forget what had been done in opposition to his father, so as not to revenge it. To effect this, they ran into the most extravagant professions of affection and loyalty to him, in so much that he himself said, that it was a *mad and hairbrained* loyalty which they professed. And amongst other strange things, which his first parliament did, they ordered the *thirtieth of January* (the day on which his father was beheaded) to be kept as a day of solemn humiliation, to deprecate the judgments of heaven for the rebellion, which the nation had been guilty of, in that which was no national thing; and which was not rebellion in them that did it.—Thus they soothed and flattered their new king, at the expence of their liberties:—And were ready to yield up *freely* to Charles II. all that enormous power, which they had justly resisted Charles I. for usurping to himself.

“A Discourse concerning unlimited submission, and non-resistance to the Higher powers: With some reflections on the Resistance made to King Charles I. and on the anniversary of his death; in which the mysterious doctrine of that prince's sainthood and martyrdom is unriddled. By Jonathan Mayhew, A. M. Pastor of the West Church in Boston. First printed at Boston in New England 1750. Reprinted London 1752 in a work called “The Pillars of priestcraft and orthodoxy shaken.”

Wood had severely animadverted on the Earl of Anglesey's sitting in judgment on the Regicides: The Biographia Britannica extols it as an act of the greatest loyalty and honour: But under favour it not only appears a servile complaisance; but to glaring injustice. The Earl had gone most lengths with those men; in short, had acted with them in open rebellion to his Sovereign. *The putting to death that Sovereign could by no means be the guilty part of their opposition. If a King deserves to be opposed by force of arms, he deserves death: If he reduces his subjects to that extremity, the blood spilt in that quarrel lies on him.—The executing him afterwards is a meer formality.*

Walpole's catal. of R. & N. Authors, edit. 2. v. 2. p. 69.

that

that the apostles were men, *and that several persons among the \* Greek and Roman Heathens, did infinitely excel him in all moral and heroic virtues.* As for princes, if good manners could not make Mr. BLACKHALL except the present king, justice at least might well oblige him to do it. King WILLIAM has never dispens'd with express laws in favor of popish recusants. He never protected any of his chaplains against the parliament for preaching up arbitrary power. He never requir'd soldiers to be try'd by martial law in time of peace; nor levy'd loans or ship money contrary to law, much less imprison'd, fin'd or banish'd such as refus'd to pay those illegal taxes. He does not countenance any SIBTHORPS, MANWARINGS, or MOUNTAGUES to teach his subjects non-resistance, or to compliment himself with arbitrary power. He is so far from sending for foren troops to enslave the nation, that he readily sent those away which he kept here by law, as soon as he understood the kingdom had no further need of their service. He does not use to imprison members of the house of commons for using that freedom of debate which is essential to their constitution. He never threaten'd to betake

\* The Grecian Commonwealths, while they maintained their liberty, *were the most heroic confederacy that ever existed.* They were the bravest, the wisest, the politest of men. In the short space of little more than a century, they became such statesmen, warriors, orators, historians, physicians, poets, critics, painters, sculptors, architects, and last of all philosophers, that one can hardly help considering *that golden period*, as a providential event in honor of human nature, to shew to what perfection the species might ascend.

Harris, the ingenuous James, in his "Hermes, or a philosophical Inquiry concerning language and universal grammar." London printed 1751, in octavo.

himself



himself to other councils than his parliament (as CHARLES the first did) saying that *Parliaments were in his Power*, and that *he might grow out of Love with them*. Nor is it known that he went into the house of commons to demand any of their members; no more than he has seiz'd the customs without any act to impower him. He never promis'd (as king CHARLES did in a letter to his queen) that he would take away all the penal laws against *Roman catholicks* as soon as he should be able, nor any thing else of this nature: For these are only a few instances, not to blacken that prince, but to shew how little some sort of people seem to value his present majesty for generously restoring the constitution, and for so willingly passing many excellent laws for enlarging or securing the liberty of his subjects; as well as for always paying such a deference to parliaments, which he not only assemblies willingly, but likewise, according to ancient custom, annually. In short, if king CHARLES the first was the best of kings, the late king JAMES is not half so bad as I think him: Nor is there any doubt, if a second restoration (which God and all freemen forbid) should ever happen, but that the abdication-day would be appointed as a perpetual fast. What Mr. BLACKHALL thinks of dispensing with the laws and acting without, or contrary to them, we may guess, when he says, *That King CHARLES's greatest enemies could not charge him with any vice \* or immorality;*

\* The three following extracts are copied from the Sidney state papers printed London 1746, in 2 vol. folio. — Dorothy Countess of Leicester to the Earl her Husband. "My dearest hart, Since  
" my coming to this towne, I have beene twise at the Court,  
" because

*immorality*; as if only whoring, drinking, or swearing were immoral practices.

SINCE

“ because I did not see the King the first time, but from the  
 “ Queene I receaved then expretions of her favor to you; the  
 “ elector also maied me some complements concerning you,  
 “ much handsomlier then I expected from him. In his Majestie  
 “ I found an inclination to show me some kindnes, but he could  
 “ not finde the waie; at last he told me, *that he perceived I was*  
 “ *so kind to my Husband, when he was with me, wich kept me*  
 “ *leaner, for He thought me much fatter than I use to be.* This short  
 “ speeche was worse to me than an absolute silence, *for I blushed,*  
 “ *and was so extreamlie out of countenance, that all the Company*  
 “ *laughed at me.”* &c. &c. &c. Leycester House, March 14,  
 1636.—Robert Lord Spencer to his Lady, Dorothy, daughter  
 of Robert Earl of Leicester, *decyphered.* “ — — — I never  
 “ saw the King look better. *He is very chearfull, and by the*  
 “ *bandy discourse, I thought I had bene in the drawing room.*” &c.  
 &c. &c.—Without place or date; but by a passage in the letter  
 it appears to have been written Oct. 13, 1642.—Algernon Earl  
 of Northumberland to Robert Earl of Leicester. — — — but  
 “ bycause 135 [Northumberland] was desirous to discover how  
 “ 102 [King] stood inclined towards 110 [Leycester] he took an  
 “ occation to speake unto him of 121 [Windebanke’s] place.  
 “ He answered that 110 [Leycester] was to greate for that place,  
 “ and that he intended not to have any of that qualitie; but  
 “ when 135 [Northumberland, Admiral] came to debate that  
 “ point with him, he could give no other reason, but that it was  
 “ a rule he had set to himselfe which he resolved not to alter.  
 “ 135 replied, that he did not fixe upon that place only for 110  
 “ [Leycester] but that it was probable some others would shortly  
 “ be voide, which 102 [King] might think more suteable to his  
 “ Qualitie and Merite; that he would then be pleased, rather to  
 “ preferre a well deserving servant, who hath taken paines, and  
 “ spent some years in his employments, then one that is a meere  
 “ strainger to him. To this my thought 102 [King] made a  
 “ very colde returne, but assure your selfe 135 [Admiral] will  
 “ not give it over, though it happens a little unluckely; *for at*  
 “ *this time, I doubt 102 is not very well satisfied with 135, bycause*  
 “ P E R I V R E  
 “ *he will not* 40 97 19 84 65 85 53 21 68 39 58 96  
 “ H I M S E L F E F O R  
 “ 89 76 80 22 14 8 13 45 70 82 94 115 [Lord Lieutenant  
 “ Strafford] &c. &c. &c.” Dated London, Dec. 10, 1640.—

Extract

SINCE this king (who truly was not the worst) must needs be counted the best of men, I do not much wonder that Mr. LONG of Exeter was for having som portions of his pretended book read in the

Extract of a letter from King Charles I. to his Queen, dated Oxford, Jan. 2, 1645. — — — As for my calling those at London a Parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction, this in generall; If there had been but two (besides my self) of my opinion, I had not done it, and the Argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no wayes acknowledge them to be a Parliament, upon which condition and construction I did it. and no otherwayes, and accordingly it is registred in the Councell books, with the Councells unanimous approbation."

The King's cabinet opened; or certain packetts of secret letters and papers, written with the King's own hand, and taken in his Cabinet at Nalby field, June 14, 1645, &c. &c. published by speciall order of Parliament. London printed 1645, in quarto.

He did not greatly court the Ladyes, nor had he a lavish affection unto many; he was manly and well fitted for venerious sports; yet rarely frequented illicite beds; I do not heare of above one or two naturall Children he had, or left behind him. He had exquisite judgment by the eye and Physiognomy, to discover the vertuous from the wanton; he honored the vertuous, and was very shy and choise in wandering those wayes, and when he did it, it was with much cautiousnesse and secrecy; nor did he prostitute his affection, but unto those of exquisite persons or parts; and this the Queene well knew; nor did she winke at it. Hee had much of self-ends in all he did, and a most difficult thing it was to hold him close to his own promise or word: he was apt to recede, unlesse something therein appeared compliable either unto his own will, profit or judgment; so that some strainge Princes bestowed on him the character of a most false Prince, and one that never kept his word, unlesse for his owne advantage.

Lilly's Observations on the Life and Death of King Charles. London, 1651, in quarto, p. 79, 80.

And if saying that he died a Martyr made him such, then the Duke of Monmouth also was the same, for he died with the same words in his mouth, which his Grandfather King Charles had used before. King Charles the second seems to have had no



the church for the further enlightning of our understanding : Nor that Dr. PERINCHIEF should tell us in his life how som purchas'd chips of the block on which he was beheaded, and parcels of the sands discolor'd with his blood, as also som of his hair, *Hoping*, continues he, *they would be a means of cure for that disease, which our English kings, through the indulgence of kind heaven, by their touch did usually heal : And it was reported that these reliques, experienc'd, fail'd not of the effect.* Now who can laugh at the popish legends, and be serious when he reads this passage ? Whereas, if there was ever any power in *England* of curing the king's evil, it was plainly lodg'd in the people.

BEFORE I conclude, I must remark, that tho his pretended friends were so ready † to father such books on CHARLES the first, wherein he had no hand, yet they industriously left out of his works a letter to pope GREGORY XV, whereof I can prove him as evidently to be the author as CICERO or VIRGIL may be entitul'd to the *Philippicks* and the *Æneids*. There is an interpolated copy of it in the first volumn of RUSHWORTH's Collections : It is rightly inserted in the

such opinion of the matter ; for when a certain Lord reminded his Majesty of his swearing in common discourse, the King replied, "*Your Martyr swore more than ever I did.*"

The Rev. Mr. Watson's Apology for his conduct on January thirty. London printed 1756, in octavo. p. 24.

† Hear what description an historian of that party gives of those on the Royal side. "*Never had any good undertaking so many unworthy attendants ; such horrid blasphemers and wicked wretches, as ours hath had : I quake to think, much more to speak, what mine ears have heard from some of their lips : but to discover them is not my present purpose.*"

Symmon's Defence of King Charles I. p. 165.

quarto

quarto edition of a book call'd *Cabala*, or Myſteries of ſtate: It is alſo in the *Italian Mercury* of VITTORIO SIRI: in DU CHESNE's *French Hiſtory* of England, Scotland and Ireland: and in ſeveral *Spaniſh* and *Italian* authors. Pope URBAN VIII. mentions it in the letter which he likewiſe ſent this prince, with another to his father king JAMES; both which may be read in RUSHWORTH's Collections. Now was not the omitting of this letter a notorious fraud, ſince that it alone, with thoſe letters which the parliament publiſh'd to diſgrace him, and a few pieces beſides, make up all his genuin writings; for as to thoſe meſſages, propoſitions, declarations, treaties, and other public papers, which fill that bulky folio they call his works, whoever takes them to be his, is likewiſe capable of believing he was the true author of *Icon Baſilike*.

THIS is all I had to write concerning this famous book, not to reflect on the memory of CHARLES the firſt, but in my own vindication; being a liberty not deny'd me by equity or law, and which, if I neglected to improve, I ſhould be more unjuſt to my ſelf than my adverſaries, whoſe malice I ſhall readily forget, and heartily pray God to forgive.

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